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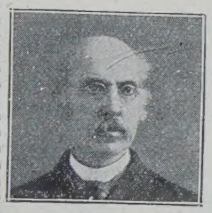

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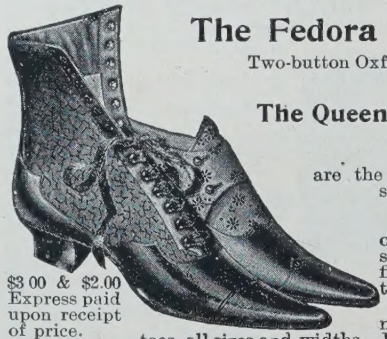

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THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS AND THEIR RELIGION.

BY

GOTTHARD DEUTSCH, Ph.D., Professor of History at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

1. FROM THE FALL OF JERUSALEM TO THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE destruction of the temple at Jerusalem meant a crisis for Judaism of even deeper significance than the failure of the Reichstag of Worms to silence the Protestant movement. The belief in the prophecies which had predicted everlasting glory for Jerusalem was shaken; but, as is the case with Adventists, when a prophecy fails to be fulfilled, practical necessity found a way out of the theoretical difficulty. The national calamity began to be considered a transitory condition, after which God's grace would restore the lost glory.

This view was taught by the Pharisaic school. It will be necessary for the student to divest himself of the conception of the term Pharisee, as set forth in the New Testament. The Pharisees of the first century, A. D., were to the Christians what Huss, Erasmus or Reuchlin were to the Reformation. They theoretically held the doctrine that the law would be abrogated in the Messianic era; but until then they were just as unwilling to carry this view into practice as the average Christian would be to discard the apostolic creed on the strength of the parable of the Good Samaritan.

The leader of this party was Johanan bon Zakaj. His biography is overgrown with legends. Still so much seems certain that he was a great teacher and a member of the Synhedrin; that he left Jerusalem before the destruction and established a school in Jabneh, which came to be considered as a substitute for the Synhedrin. He taught salvation for righteous Gentiles and advocated submission to Rome's political authority. His liturgical institutions meant to preserve as much as possible of the temple-worship.

Under the Roman empire the political condition of the Jews was peculiarly sad. The tribute of the half-shekel, the annual sacred gift to the temple, had been confiscated under the name of Fiscus Judaicus—afterwards, however, remitted by Nerva (96-98). During the war of the desolation of Palestine many had been killed, many sold as slaves; great numbers of the survivors were fugitives in the remotest parts of the empire and in Babylonia, then subject to the Parthians; while under Domitian the persecution, especially of proselytes, was most severe; a relative even of the emperor, Flavius Clemens, having been put to death and his wife exiled for this cause. Hadrian (117-138) put an end to the revolution by conciliatory measures,

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but his despotic syncretism was the cause of another futile rebellion; that of Bar Kokba (132-135), which was the last attempt of the Jews to regain political independence by force of arms.

Their religious life during this period was a consolidation on the basis of changed conditions. Rabban Gamaliel, the Hillelite, under the title of Nassi, or Patriarch, was the recognized successor of the President of the Synhedrin. His only tangible prerogative was the calendation. He attempted to compile a fixed ritual, but was opposed in his hierarchical tendencies by Eliezer ben Hyrkanos, who had leanings towards Christianity and by Joshua ben Hananiah, a strict Congregationalist. Gamaliel and Joshua were united in their opposition to political aspirations, while Rabbi Akiba preached political resurrection and proclaimed Bar Kokba as the Messiah. He supervised the Greek version of the Pentateuch written by the proselyte Akylas.

The defeat of Bar Kokba's uprising was followed by severe measures against the rebels. The name of Jerusalem was changed to Aelia Capitolina, and no Jew was allowed to enter the city. On the site of Jahve's sanctuary a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was to be erected; over the gate of the city the image of a swine was placed. Circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, and the study of the law were prohibited.

Under Antoninus (138-161) a complete change took place and Hadrian's restrictive laws were abolished. From now on until the reign of Constantine we hear nothing of religious persecution. Still, the growing power of Christianity and the devastation of Palestine caused the Jews to emigrate in large numbers to southern Mesopotamia and to western Europe.

The religious development during the period from the Bar Kokba-Revolution up to the Christianization of the Roman empire shows a growing tendency towards legalism. Jehuda Hanassi (*i.e.*, prince, patriarch,) (135-216) won an important place in Jewish history by the compilation of the rabbinical law, called Mishna, which, originally intended as a compendium of the rabbinical interpretation of the biblical law and of other traditional customs, by and by began to be considered part of the Sinaitic revelation.

R. Jehuda met with no serious opposition in his attempt to establish a religious authority, but soon after his death conditions changed. His son, Gamaliel III. (A.C. 216-230), was a mere figurehead; and so the position of the patriarch which the son inherited from the father became a shadow, until Theodosius II. (A.C. 425) abolished it altogether.

Economic and political adversities drove a great number of Jews to Babylonia, where already during the third century the schools of Sura and Pumdeditha became strong rivals of their sister institutions in Tiberias and Sepphoris. About the middle of the fourth century the last Palestinian authorities died out. Their successors gave all their attention to the edifying explanation of Scripture, called Aggada. At the same time the talmudical law was further developed in Babylonia, where the Rabbis Ashe (died 427) and Abina (died 499) compiled the Talmud of Babylonia. The Talmud consists of two parts, the Mishna and the Gemara; the former being the law and the latter a discursive commentary on it. Both together form the Talmud. The lectures on the Mishna, compiled in the Palestinian schools, form the Talmud of Jerusalem; those compiled by R. Ashe and R. Abina, form the Babylonia Talmud. The latter always has been the more popular book and was considered a higher authority.

In the Roman empire the Jews from the time of Constantine (312) were subjected to legal discriminations. A very short interval was the reign of Julian (361-363), who, according to ecclesiastical writers, intended to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. The edict of Ravenna (Feb. 28, 380), promulgated by Theodosius I., which made Rome a Christian empire, affected the condition of the Jews very unfavora-

bly, although the emperor protected them against occasional outbreaks of mobs, stimulated by fanatical ecclesiastics. Because of the dispersion of the Jews the last prerogative of the patriarch, the announcement of the festivals was now surrendered; Hillel II. (A.C. 325) being the last to use it.

In Babylonia the Jews were politically organized under an exilarch, Resh Galutha, who was their representative at the court of the Persian king, and, later on, of the Calif. Their spiritual head was the president of one of the great schools. The religious and national revival following upon the return to power of the Parsees (226) brought great suffering upon the Jews, but their situation was more favorable than that of their brethren under the Christian rule of Rome.

The situation in the Byzantine empire was nowise better than in the western part of the old Roman empire and in the various Germanic states which had formed on its ruins. The greatest sufferings were experienced under the Visigoths in Spain, where church-councils decreed the laws which became typical for medieval legislation on the Jews, and it was only the invasion of the Arabs which changed their condition for the better.

Baruch Spinoza. *Cf. p. 573.*

The literary activity had from the beginning of the eighth century its seat in the schools of Sura and Pumbeditha. Our rabbinical works, especially the homiletical literature, called the Midrash, date in their present shape from this period, which extends from 750 to 1040, and is called the period of the Geonim, from Gaon, excellency, which was the title of the college-president. At the same time a number of practical guide-books for civil, liturgical and dietary laws were written, and the first manual for public worship was compiled by the Gaon Amram (A.C. 850). We also meet at that time the first traces of a theosophical literature (Kabbalah), of which probably the oldest specimen is the book of creation. (Sephar Jezirah).

The strict adherence to traditional authority which is characteristic of the Babylonian schools of this period, aroused a fierce opposition, led by Anan (A.C. 760), who found a great following. The sect, originated by him, called itself Sons of the Bible, Karaites. They rejected all authority outside of the Bible. They still exist in very small numbers, chiefly in southern Russia. Their last literary authority was Abraham Firkowitsch (1786-1874), who has made for himself an unenviable reputation by extensive forgeries of tombstones and manuscripts in the interest of Karaitic glory. At the same time when this schism occurred Judaism made an important conquest by the conversion of the Chazars, a Tartaric nation whose Khan Bulan, with his court and a great majority of his people, embraced the Jewish religion.

The controversy with the Karaites stimulated the neglected study of the Bible amongst the rabbinitic Jews. The ablest apologete of their views was the Gaon Saadjah (892-942), who wrote the first systematic work on philosophy of religion, called "Science and Religion." From that time on the Babylonian schools declined. In 1040 the last Gaon was put to death and no successor appointed.

Babylonian Jews settled in great numbers in northern Africa. Isaac Alfasi, of Fez (1013-1103), emigrated to Spain and founded a school in Lucena. However,

previous to his time there was in Cordova a famous seat of learning. Hasdai ibn Shaprut, who occupied a high position at the court of Abderrahman III. (912-961), was a patron of Jewish literature. Amongst those whom he supported are the first Jewish grammarians, Dunash ben Labrat and Menahem ben Saruk. A position similar to that of Hasdai was occupied by Samuel ibn Nagrela at the court of the Moorish Calif Habus in Granada. Samuel was not only a patron of Jewish literature, but also a scholar of considerable attainments. He supported one of the best of all New-Hebrew poets, Salomo ibn Gebirol, who also is the author of the philosophical work "Fountain of Life," which exercised a great influence on the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. As author of a popular work on religious ethics, "The Duties of the Heart," we have to mention Bahja ibn Pakuda.

In France and Germany the Jewish population increased under Charlemagne (768-814) and his successors. The embassy which Charlemagne sent to Harun Al-Rashid numbered a Jew amongst its members. With the progress of the German arms the Jews moved eastward to Austria, Bohemia and Poland.

The literary activity of the Jews in Germany and France is limited to liturgical poetry and to talmudical codes and commentaries. In regard to the latter we mention R. Gershom, called "The Light of the Diaspora," who lived in Mayence (A.C. 960-1020) and who is famous by making monogamy, which up to his time was only a practice, a binding law.

The twelfth century shows the highest development of spiritual life in Judaism. In Spain we have the greatest of all medieval Jewish poets, Jehuda Halevi (1080-1141), who is also famous for his Kusari, an apology for Judaism in the form of a dialogue between the Khan of the Chazars and the rabbi who had converted him. Abraham ibn Esra, also a native of Spain (1092-1167), had, in the school of the Karaites, acquired a critical spirit, which he used not only in dissecting and very frequently ridiculing rabbinical interpretations of the Bible, but in criticising the Bible itself. The brightest star in the Jewish literature of the age, is Moses Maimonides (1135-1204). Of his numerous works we shall quote only two: Mishneh Thorah, a code of the Jewish law, comprising dogma, ritual, civil, criminal and political law, and Morch Nebuchim, The Guide of the Perplexed, a philosophical apology for Judaism based on Aristotle. His arguments were partly made use of by Thomas of Aquino and Albertus Magnus.

From the thirteenth century on we notice a decline in the intellectual life of Judaism. This decline is typified by a fierce opposition to Maimonides' philosophy. The liberals were represented by David Kimchi (1170-1235), the best known exegete and grammarian of the Middle Ages, while the orthodox party was represented by Solomon ibn Adret (1230-1310), rabbi of Barcelona. He, like the German rabbis, stood for the infallibility of the Talmud. Amongst the German rabbis the highest authority was Meir of Rothenburg (1220-1293), who died in prison because on his advice the German Jews refused to pay the high ransom for the extortion of which King Rudolph had imprisoned him.

More spiritual freedom existed in Italy, where we find the poet Imanuel of Rome (1270-1340), who wrote a Hebrew sequel to Dante's Divina Commedia. A very great influence was exercised by the Jews as translators from Arabic into Latin. Persecutions on religious grounds, stimulated by Jewish converts to Christianity such as Nicholas Donin (A.C. 1240), Pablo Christiani (1260), Alfonso of Valladolid (1300), Geronimo da Santa Fe, and Paulus of Burgos (1390-1440), aroused Messianic hopes, based on Kabbalistic prophecies. Abraham Abulafia (1280) played the rôle of a Messiah in Sicily and Moses ben Nahman (1200-1270) gave a considerable space to Kabbala in his commentary on the Pentateuch. Like all theosophists, Kabbalists claimed to have a very ancient literature. Their fundamental work was the Zohar, Kabbalistic homilies on the Pentateuch, written by Moses of Leon (1290), and ascribed to Simeon ben Johaj. (2nd cent.)

2. FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO MODERN TIMES.

The political condition of the Jews during the latter part of the Middle Ages was very sad, although occasionally some individuals rose to a higher rank as tax-farmers, financiers, physicians, astronomers, astrologists, and authors. The masses were frequently mobbed, not rarely expelled and always outrageously taxed. The German Jews suffered terribly from the crusaders in 1096 and 1147. Many were thrown into burning houses or hacked to pieces, and thousands were killed under the most cruel tortures. A great number were dragged to churches and baptized, but returned to Judaism in spite of the protest of ecclesiastic dignitaries. Most of the latter, especially St. Bernard, although not favorable to the Jews, condemned these persecutions, but their voices did not prevail with the mob. Similar persecutions of a local character we find all through the Middle Ages, but it would be impossible to enumerate them. Sometimes it is the accusation that they murdered a child to use his blood for their Passover cakes; another time that they perforated a consecrated host which subsequently performed some miracles, which lent a semblance of justice to these acts of mob violence. Legislation sanctioned these outbreaks by establishing such discriminations against the Jews as incited passion against them. The council of the Lateran (1215), which represents the highwater-mark of papal power under Innocent III., decreed the Jew-badge and confirmed all laws tending to degrade the Jews. Under such conditions which, as the pope declared, were part of the divine economy to show by the humiliation of the Jews the glory of Christ, it was of no avail, when Innocent IV. (1247) in a bull admonished the rulers to protect the life and property of the Jews, and even protested against the accusation that the Jews committed murder for the sake of their religion. It was also of little avail, when some princess like Frederick II. of Austria (1244) promulgated statutes by which the rights of the Jews, who through the exorbitant taxes imposed upon them were a considerable support of the treasury, were established. Other rulers wantonly disregarded these dearly bought privileges, and the mobs excited by a Good-Friday sermon on Jesus' sufferings, never respected them. Of the innumerable persecutions during the twelfth century, I shall only mention the riots at the time of the coronation of King Richard Cœur de Lion (1190) and the martyrdom of the Jews of Blois (1171) and of Bray (1191). Hundreds died at the stake, singing hymns; hundreds killed themselves with their children to escape the tortures of infuriated mobs. The great plague (1348-1350) added a new pretext for the slaughter of helpless people, who were accused of poisoning the wells. All over western Europe they were persecuted. In Strassburg alone 1800 Jews were burned on one pyre.

In the fifteenth century the growth of the municipalities had the effect that the Jews, formerly a welcome object for taxation, began to be considered as inconvenient competitors. At the same time the economic crisis, produced by the sudden change of economic conditions due to so many discoveries and inventions, produced the spirit of discontent and restlessness in the masses which always is the prime cause of revolutions and naturally makes the weak suffer first. Legislation and historical conditions having reduced the Jews to the business of money lending, it was only too natural that popular hatred, fomented by religious motives, saw in the Jew the usurer only, and in the usurer the sole cause of the serious economic crisis. They were expelled from almost all the larger cities in Germany, while France, where they had been expelled and called back numerous times before, expelled them peremptorily in 1394, England having done so in 1290. At the same time the increasing perturbation within the church aroused occasional outbreaks against the Jews. In Spain Ferdinand Martinez (1391) had caused a great uprising against the Jews, and a great number, in order to save their lives, professed conversion to Christianity, but secretly practiced Judaism. They formed the

large class of the Marannos, whom the church considered as apostates and against whom the inquisition was created which, powerless in its attempt to make the Marannos real Christians, brought about the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492) and from Portugal (1495). The council of Basle (1431-43) renewed all the ecclesiastic laws against the Jews. John Capistrano, who failed in his mission to bring the Hussites back into the fold of the Catholic church, triumphed over the Jews. In Breslau he consigned over forty to the stake under the usual allegation of piercing a consecrated host (1454), and from a number of cities they were expelled through his influence. Bernhardin of Feltre, a man of the type which we would call Christian socialists in our days, proved by torture and manipulated testimony that a little boy who was drowned in the Adige had been murdered by the Jews of Trent (1475). A great number were put to death and the rest expelled. As late as 1510 the profaned host caused the death of twenty-nine Jews in Berlin.

The most important event of this epoch was the expulsion of the Jews, about 300,000 in number, from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496). The refugees settled mostly in Turkey, in northern Africa, in Egypt and in Palestine. The many refugees from Germany turned towards Poland, so that from about 1500 the majority of the Jews lived in eastern countries, debarred from the centres of civilization. The Reformation had only a slight influence on the Jews. Their general condition was not changed. Luther, who, in the beginning of his career, had been favorably inclined to them, spoke in his later days very severely against them, recommending the confiscation of their property and their expulsion. The Renaissance, however, had its influence on the Jews, as it derived some of its impulses from their literature. Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), one of the foremost representatives of the Renaissance movement (1510), defended the rabbinical literature against the accusations of John Pfefferkorn, a converted Jew, and his allies, the Dominicans of Cologne, who, by the confiscation of the Talmud, expected to obtain the same power as inquisitors in Germany which their order possessed in Spain. Like many other scholars of that age, Reuchlin had studied Hebrew from Jews. Elijah Levita (1472-1549), a Hebrew teacher of Christians in Italy, came out with the important discovery that the vowel-points were a later invention, and that consequently the text of the Hebrew Bible, as we possess it, is of a comparatively late origin. Azariah dei Rossi of Mantua (1511-1578) followed with a series of learned essays in which he proved that the rabbinical writings possessed no authority in scientific matters, a statement which was quite bold in those days and elicited no small amount of opposition. Meantime in Poland and in the Orient, which had become the seats of rabbinical learning, traditionalism became stronger and stronger. Joseph Karo (1488-1577) in Saffed wrote a compendium of Jewish law, Shulhan Arukh, which, with the annotations of Moses Isserls in Cracow (1520-1573), was considered an authoritative guide-book, and thus became instrumental in perpetuating scholasticism and traditionalism. A rather utopian scheme of the Maranno, Salomo Molcho and his friend, David Reubeni, who posed as a prince of the lost tribes to establish the Messianic kingdom, failed ignominiously. Molcho was burned at the stake (1533), and Reubeni died in prison. A more practical scheme of Don Joseph of Naxos, a Maranno, who had obtained a high position at the court of Constantinople, to establish a Jewish state in the island of Cyprus also failed (1571). The first place, where Jews enjoyed full religious freedom was Holland, where after the Netherlands had gained their freedom, Spanish Jews began to settle in considerable numbers. Amsterdam became a mother-city for other colonies, which in the course of the seventeenth century settled in England, Sweden, Denmark and America, and were swelled by fugitive Marannos who were fortunate enough to escape from the dungeons of the Inquisition and also by German Jews. At the same time the Jews of Poland were terrible sufferers from the revolution of the Cossacks against their Polish masters (1648). Under their captain Chmelnicki the Cossacks attacked the

Jewish settlements, because the Jews as tax-farmers had been instrumental in driving the Cossacks to desperation. Hundreds of thousands were killed, and fugitives flocked into all parts of Europe, where they could find co-religionists.

The misery which Jews still endured, even in places where their lives and property were not in constant danger, fomented the Messianic hope, and in 1666 Sabbathai Zebi, a native of Smyrna, announced himself as the Messiah, and succeeded in securing followers all over Europe until, when the Sultan interfered and asked him to prove his Messianic mission by a miracle, he was converted to Islam. This ridiculous result of the Messianic movement showed its effect in a growing aversion to Kabbalah. At the same time we see some descendants of those who suffered the most cruel martyrdom for their faith break away from Judaism and all positive religions. Both Baruch Spinozas (1632-1677) and Uriel Acosta (1594-1640) were members of the Portuguese congregation of Amsterdam.

The persecutions, although not as fierce as those of the fifteenth century, continued. In 1670 the Emperor, Leopold I., expelled the Jews from Vienna for no other reason than because his wife, a Spanish princess, desired it for the glory of God. The Marannos in Spain and Portugal were still the victims of the Inquisition. In 1680 Charles II., in order to duly celebrate his nuptials with a French princess, ordered a great *auto da fe* to be held, at which eighteen Jews were burned to death, while a great many others were sentenced to imprisonment and to disgracing acts of penitence.

Moses Mendelssohn.

In consequence of the Messianic movement under Sabbathai Zebi a mystic sect arose which had its followers in the East and which called themselves Hassidim. The Maranno, Michael Cardoso (1622-1706); the Italian, Mose Hajim Luzzatto (1707-1747), one of the best poets of the New-Hebrew literature, and finally Israel Besht (1696-1760), an ignorant Polish coachman, developed this doctrine. While they never severed their connection with the whole body of Judaism, their doctrinal recognition of theosophy and their belief in miracle-workers formed a decided difference between them and the orthodox followers of rabbinical Judaism. The crisis was reached when, in a bitter and protracted controversy between the Rabbi of Altona, Jonathan Eibeschitz (1690-1764) and the celebrated author, Jacob Emden (1696-1776), all belief in Kabbala was branded as crypto-Sabbathaism. During this controversy Emden had the boldness to declare the Zohar, the canonical book of the Kabbalists, a partial forgery.

This critical view had further consequences. It produced a spiritual independence, which found its most successful exponent in Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), who, a consistent deist himself, advocated an amalgamation of the Jews with their surroundings by a general education, but he carefully refrained from advocating any innovations in the religious life. He translated parts of the Bible into pure German (1783), edited the first Hebrew magazine (1784), and was instrumental in the foundation of a Jewish free school. He also advocated the full right of citizenship for the Jews. This became an accomplished fact during the French revolution (1791), and was imitated by other states, which, during the revolutionary period, were under French influence, but after the Vienna Congress (1815) a general reaction set in.

Meantime the Jews began to consider the necessity for changing their ritual and

revising their dogma. In regard to the latter the most important move was the declaration against the belief in a personal Messiah. In their ritual the substitution of the vernacular for the Hebrew in some parts of their prayer-book was the decisive step taken. These reforms were first introduced in the "Tempel" of Hamburg (1817). At the same time rabbinical literature became the object of scientific treatment, and the exclusive dominion of scholasticism was broken. In this respect the merit of the initiation belongs to Leopold Zunz (1794-1886). With him we shall mention: S. L. Rappoport (1791-1867), S. D. Luzzatto (1800-1865), Zacharias Frankel (1801-1875), the representatives of moderate conservatism, while Abraham Geiger (1810-1874) represents the liberal theology, within which Samuel Holdheim (1806-1860) and David Einhorn (1809-1879) represent the radical wing. The strictest orthodoxy is represented by Samson R. Hirsch (1808-1888). Of other leading scholars we mention Hirsch Graetz (1817-1891), Leopold Loew (1811-1875) and M. Steinschneider (born 1816).

The present religious condition of the Jews may be described thus: In Asia, northern Africa and Turkey we find strict mediævalism, servile practice of ritual laws, superstitious fear of the rabbis, and uncritical acceptance of everything ever taught by anybody in the name of the Jewish religion. In Russia, Roumania and Galicia, strict talmudical orthodoxy is steadily losing ground, to make room for those religious views which are the rule amongst the Jews of western Europe, viz: a liberal attitude to the teachings and the practice of religion very much like that prevailing among the body of German Protestants of the type represented by Harnack and other leading theologians. Their allegiance to Judaism, however, is strengthened by consciousness of the fact that they will remain Jews, no matter what their religious position and practice may become.

The revolution of 1848 brought political equality to the Jews all over western Europe, although it was not until 1858 that the first Jew, Lionel de Rothschild, was allowed to take his seat in the English Parliament. The medieval system, which leaves the Jew to the mercy of the mob in occasional outbreaks of violence, reigns still in Morocco and Persia. In Russia and Roumania the Jews are subjected to oppressive laws, such as existed in western Europe up to the eighteenth century. A similar state of affairs exists in Portugal, while in Spain the law granting them liberty of worship has never been carried into effect. In Germany, Austria and France the anti-Semitic movement for the last twenty years is trying to obtain a repeal of the laws granting the Jews political equality. This renewed hostility, together with the unbearable conditions of Russia, has of late produced the Zionistic movement, which aims to establish a Jewish state in Palestine as an asylum for the persecuted Jews all over the world.

Another notable feature of Jewish history in the nineteenth century is the participation of the Jews in all branches of art, science, literature and public life. France and Italy have had Jewish ministers, Cremieux, Fould, Raynal and Luzatti. All other civilized countries have had influential Jewish politicians. In music we may mention Meyerbeer, Halevy and Goldmark; in literature, Heine, Boerne, Auerbach, Grace Aguilar, Goldsmid (Denmark), Millaud (France), etc. Of great scientists the number is too great for this article to do justice to them.

These facts certainly prove that the admission of the Jews to participation in public life has proven a benefit not only to them, but in no small degree a benefit to the highest interests of humanity.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BY

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3. DIFFUSION OF THE ECCLESIA. ITS CONSTITUTION.

THE three thousand souls who formed the nucleus of Christianity at Jerusalem (Acts II. 41) increased rapidly. (1) Tacitus speaks of a "great multitude" of adherents at Rome (A.D. 64), and a letter of the younger Pliny to Trajan shows that the mission of Paul and Barnabas to Bithynia had made an impression on the entire society of that province. In his "Apology," Tertullian appeals to the great number of the Christians of Africa. By the middle of the third century the episcopal sees were numerous in Central and Southern Italy, and the synod of Elvira (A.D. 300) shows that in Spain Christians were very numerous in every walk of life. There were Christian martyrs in Britain in the persecution of Diocletian. St. Irenaeus and Tertullian speak as though the Britons of their time had heard the gospel. It is not probable that Christians were numerous in Gaul before the middle of the third century.

Syria and Asia Minor were the natural theatre for the efforts of the first apostles. (2) The "Apostolic Constitutions" and "Canons," as well as the Clementine literature, the very early Syriac version of the Scriptures, and the Diatessaron of Tatian, argue a long established and developed Christian life in the former land. In spite of a certain autonomy of the Jews, the Christians of Palestine grew in numbers. The little kingdoms of Osrhoene, Adiabene and Edessa were largely Christian in the second century. The frequent persecutions of the Alexandrine Christians are a proof of their number, and the correspondence of Bishop Dionysius about the middle of the third century indicates an active proselytism among the Copts. The letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch show a numerous Christian episcopate on the western sea-board of Asia Minor early in the second century; one hundred and fifty years later the city of Apamæa was officially Christian. The acts of St. Pionius of Smyrna show that city largely Christian. The persecutions of Schapûr II. reveal a multitude of Christians in Persia; the conversion of Armenia antedates the victory of Saxa Rubra (A.D. 312). An Arabian Christian became Roman Emperor in the person of Philip, son of a sheik of Bosra (A.D. 244-249). Isolated Christian captives were among the Saracens, the Goths, and the Berbers at the same time. It is probable that the Christians of the Malabar peninsula in India are older than Constantine. The history of the Persian Manes show how energizing were then the tenets of Christianity on the outermost limits of Persia.

By the year A.D. 300 trade, war, travel, and lettered curiosity had supplemented personal proselytism and scattered Christianity broadcast. In the following decade Maximinus Daja admitted that "nearly all men" had deserted the service of the gods (Euseb. H. E. IX. 9). Long before, Melito of Sardis paralleled the rapid spread of Christianity with the growth of the Roman name and power, and insinuated a close relation between them. Origen even entertained the thought that the religion of Christ would one day be mistress of the world.

Gibbon calculates the Christian population of the empire before Constantine at about one-twentieth of the total population, or about five millions; Keim, Zöckler and Chastel at about sixteen millions, while Schultze fixes ten millions as the minimum. The Christians were surely more numerous than the four million Jews.

In the first decades of its history we find this society divided into laity and clergy. "The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances," writes St. Clement (about A.D. 96), and the apostles "appointed their first fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe." From the beginning of the second century we find in all Christian communities a bishop, priests and deacons, an embryonic but uniform government in countries remote from one another, at an epoch when the action of the principal sees, notably Rome, was as yet weak and faint. This phenomenon easily suggests the apostolic origin of the episcopate.

From the letters of St. Ignatius to the writings of St. Cyprian the bishop is head, shepherd, judge, representative of the Christian community, its presiding officer in worship, and its bond of union. (3) The priests are counsellors to the bishop, instructors of the faithful, and vicars of the bishop when he is absent or incapacitated. The deacons, hierarchically inferior to the priests, had a much greater influence; the temporal administration was practically in their hands, as well as the immediate service of the bishop in divine worship, the distribution of the Eucharist, and occasional conferring of baptism.

About the middle of the third century the ministry of the deacons was subdivided, and the "minor orders" introduced, first in the Church of Rome. (4) The selection of all this clergy was left to the bishop with the counsel of his presbytery and the good will of the people. The bishop was elected by the local clergy; the assistance of three bishops was required for a licit consecration. The metropolitan and the bishops of the province confirmed the newly-elect. The support of this clergy came from weekly offerings of the Christians, from their own patrimony, or their labor. Certain qualities were required for entrance among the clergy, and certain impediments were soon established; the age for the priesthood was thirty, that for the episcopate about fifty. Celibacy was held very desirable for the bishops, priests and deacons. After diaconal ordination clerics could not marry without renouncing the exercise of their order, but there seems to have been no apostolic law obliging to continency the married man who became deacon, and in time priest or bishop.

Each bishop governed the Christians of a municipal district; as a rule, his authority ran parallel with the city territory; thus he had under him not only the municipal clergy, but also the deacons, and "rural bishops" who governed the remote hamlets or towns. The bishop of the provincial metropolis soon rose to the dignity of metropolitan, because of the size of his city, the number of his flock, and the standing of its principal members; great influence, too, accrued to him through the custom of holding frequent synods in his city—a custom as old as the fifth or sixth decade of the second century, and which argues a monarchical episcopacy very widely spread. The metropolitans were subject to certain higher dignitaries whose circles of influence, established long before the council of Nice (325), corresponded to the great civil divisions of the empire. They were Alexandria, Antioch and Rome. (5) Ephesus in proconsular Asia, Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Heraclaea in Thrace, were also centres of a superior unity. This unity was an ideal deeply

cherished and practically preserved by means of the correspondence of bishops, annual synodal meetings, excommunication of offenders against discipline or belief, letters or certificates of membership, and the bond of filiation between churches.

Among the Christian churches one, the Church of Rome, was especially prominent as the centre of unity. The bishops of Rome very soon laid formal claim to a universal authority as successors of St. Peter. The Roman homily, "On the Gamblers," perhaps the work of Pope Victor (189-199), asserts the power of the keys (Matt. xviii., 18), the vicarship of the Lord, and an original apostolic authority or leadership. St. Clement of Rome writes to the Corinthians in an unmistakable tone of authority, that the discovery of the complete text has confirmed. St. Irenaeus of Lyons attributes to the Roman Church an authoritative and efficient primacy, based on its episcopal succession from SS. Peter and Paul. (6) St. Ignatius of Antioch (107-117), addressing the Roman Church, speaks of its "presidency of love," its "presidency in the country of the region of the Romans," and the lately discovered epitaph of Abercius shows that the Roman church enjoyed the highest degree of esteem among all other churches. At the same time the sense of local self-sufficiency, and of apostolic authority lodged in the episcopate, personal and solidary, was very strong. But the conduct of Origen, of Dionysius of Alexandria, the correspondence of Saint Cyprian, the attitude of inimical emperors like Decius and Aurelian, show that the essential authority of the Roman see was not resisted, even if consciousness of the common origin and common nature of the episcopate were vivid and sensitive in communities accustomed to be governed in the original spirit of charity and humility enjoined by the Master.

3. DIFFUSION OF THE ECCLESIA — ITS CONSTITUTION.

(1) **The Primitive Evangelists.**—For, indeed, most of the disciples of that time, animated by the divine word with a more ardent love for philosophy (*i e.*, the perfect Christian life), had already fulfilled the commands of the Saviour, and had distributed their goods to the needy. Then, starting out upon long journeys, they performed the office of Evangelists, being filled with the desire to preach Christ to those that had not yet heard the word of faith, and to deliver to them the divine gospels. And when they had only laid the foundations of faith in foreign places, they appointed others as pastors (eompare Clem. ad Cor. c. 42), and entrusted them with the nurture of those that had recently been brought in, while they themselves went on again to other countries and nations with the grace and coöperation of God.—*Eusebius, "Hist. Ecc.," Bk. VII, c. 32.*

(2) **Christianity in Asia Minor.** — Thenceforward (from A.D. 112) for three hundred years Phrygia was essentially a Christian land. There began the public profession of Christianity; there are found, from the third century, on monuments exposed to the public gaze, the terms *Chrestianos* or *Christianos;* there the formulas of epitaphs convey veiled references to Christian dogmas; there, from the days of Septimius Severus, great cities adopt biblical symbols for their coins, or rather adapt their old traditions to biblical narrations. A great number of the Christians of Ephesus and Rome came from Phrygia. The names most frequently met with on the monuments of Phrygia are the antique Christian names (Trophimus, Tychicus, Tryphenus, Papias, etc.), the names special to the apostolic times, and of which the martyrologies are full. — *Renan, "Origines du Christianisme," Vol. III, pp. 363-364.*

(3) **St. Ignatius of Antioch on the Christian Hierarchy.**—Be ye careful, therefore, to observe one Eucharist (for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup (ἓν ποτήριον), unto union in this blood; there is one altar, as there is one bishop, together with the presbytery and the deacons my fellow-servants), that whatsoever ye do, ye may do it after God. — *To the Philadelphians, c. 4.*

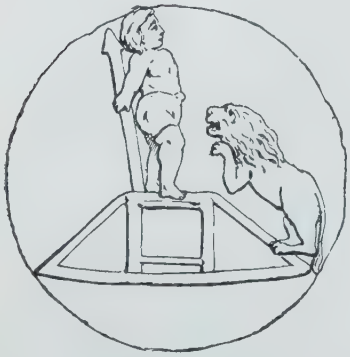
(4) **The Roman Clergy about A.D. 250.**—He (Novatus) was not ignorant (for how could he be?) that in it there were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolyths, fifty-two exorcists, readers and janitors, and over fifteen hundred widows and persons in distress.—*St. Cornelius of Rome to Fabian of Antioch in Euseb., Hist. Ecc., Bk. VI, c. 43, 11.*

(5) **Antiquity of the Three Great Patriarchates.**—The old customs in use in Egypt, in Libya, and in Pentapolis, should continue to exist; that is, that the bishop of Alexandria should have jurisdiction over all these (provinces); for there is a similar relation (or custom) for the bishop of Rome. The rights which they formerly possessed must also be preserved to the Churches of Antioch and to the other eparchies (provinces).—*Sixth Canon of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325.*

(6) **St. Irenæus of Lyons (A.D. 178) on the Roman Church.**—But as it would be a very long task to enumerate in such a volume as this the successions of all the Churches, we do put to confusion all those who . . . assemble in unauthorized meetings (we do this, I say), by indicating that tradition, derived from the Apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known Church, founded and constituted at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul; as also (by pointing out) the faith preached to men, which comes down to our time by many of the successors of the bishops. For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this (the Roman) Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority; that is, the faithful everywhere. — *"Against All Heresies," Bk. III, c. 3.*

4. CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN STATE. HERESY AND SCHISM.

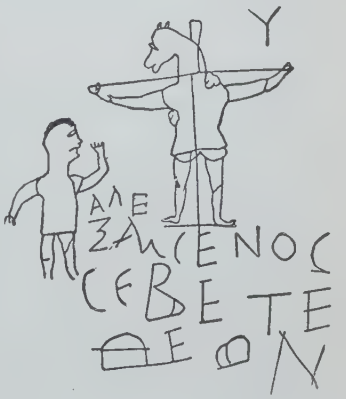
The first Christian communities were scarcely formed when they entered upon a long conflict with the civil power. The wholesale execution of Roman Christians as such by Nero (Tacitus, Annals, xv., 44) and Domitian's attempt to collect the temple-tax from the Jewish Christians made publicly known the existence of the Christians as a distinct religious society. Their religion was at once declared illicit, and their corporate existence forbidden: *Non licet esse vos.* Even humane emperors like Trajan agree that the title of Christian, the *nomen*, is criminal. And this remained the keynote of all legislation and procedure against the Christians for three centuries. Ten persecutions are reckoned by the domestic historians of the society. As a rule, the Roman historians do not mention the persecutions. Commodianus, about the middle of the third century, expressly reckons that of Decius as the seventh. The earlier persecutions differed from the later, being less processes of extermination than of terrorizing by execution of the hierarchic chiefs and more prominent members. The local magistrates and pagan priesthoods, the cynic philosophers, the miscellaneous mob in the theatre or the circus, the vendors of superstitions, sudden panics following pests or natural disturbances, the ill-will of the Jews, the treachery of apostates and heretics,—were so many causes that made the life of the average Christian one of daily fear and anxiety. The avarice of the judges and the cupidity of informers brought about confiscation and exile with consequent misery and poverty. A social excommunication hung over every Christian community, and a bitter literary persecution helped to fill the measure of oppression. Yet, as a rule, the communities bore with great firmness the impact of all these adverse forces. Their principal men called public attention, by written apologies, to the injustice of pursuing harmless and peaceful people, to the open violation of law and custom in the procedure against the martyrs or witnesses to the person and doctrine of Christ as the only true God. (1) There was, indeed, a certain legislation or "customs" against the introduction of new gods, against sacrilege, high treason, illicit meetings, and the like, but this was seldom invoked against the Christians. Their mere existence, the *professio nominis*, was a crime equivalent to the most heinous. With a subtly correct sense, the Roman state felt that the spiritual independence of the Christian was incompatible with the old pagan state in which the social authority was supreme. Hence the charge of obstinacy, *pervicacia*, brought against the society by Epictetus, Galen, and Marcus Aurelius, and the superhuman efforts made to break the constancy of the individual martyrs. The lulls in the persecutions enabled the Christians to restore discipline and renew their courage, while they broke the force of a policy that, if continued, would have exterminated them, even at the expense of a universal desolation. This policy of extermination was at last resolved on by Decius (A.D., 250-253) and by Valerian (253-260), but too late, and in too remiss a manner. The society was now deep-rooted, very numerous, well-disciplined by experience and



Christianos ad leones.
"The Christians to the Lions!"

Christian Slaves in the Spanish Mines.

special training, and capable of sustaining even wholesale apostasy, such as took place at Carthage, and the defection of its prominent members, as at Alexandria. From Gallienus to Galerius (A.D., 260-305) the Christians enjoyed comparative peace and won adherents in every rank of society. But the Illyrian dynasty took up once more the Decian policy, by the wholesale persecution of Diocletian, which was more like an internecine war than any act of repression. It ended ignominiously (A.D., 311) by the formal withdrawal of the edicts and a surly recognition of the Christian right of worship. The cruelties of these persecutions are beyond cavil, for the Roman heart was schooled to severity, and to easy and wanton bloodshed for purposes of state or pleasure. Tiberius once emptied his prisons by an indiscriminate slaughter of all the inmates, whether guilty or on trial. The number of the victims cannot now be ascertained with accuracy, owing to the disappearance of the official acts of the courts and the deliberate destruction of the ecclesiastical acts by order of Diocletian. But it was very great, for the violent repression of Christianity was carried on for some two hundred and fifty years, not only by general edicts, but at the pleasure of the magistrates, the mob, and the official enemies of the new religion—the priests and the philosophers. (2) The Christian was an outlaw, and countless individuals who did not suffer death underwent tortures and punishments scarcely inferior to that supreme act of constancy. Every Christian writer of those centuries refers to the persecutions, and the contemporary ones speak of them as causing the death of multitudes. The Christian church has always looked on their constancy as proof of its inherent divinity, and the "Acts of the Martyrs," though often of late date, interpolated, etc., contain a generally true outline of a long period of judicial oppression and injustice. (3)



A CARICATURE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

This was discovered in 1857, drawn on one of the walls of the Palace on the Palatine Hill, Rome, and is now preserved in the museo Kircheriano, Rome. The legend runs in Greek: Ἀλεξάμενος σεβετε (for σεβεται) θεόν—Alexamenos worships his god. The object behind the head is probably the tablet recording the crime.

The original revelation of Jesus was at an early date the object of individual criticism and selection by those who refused to accept a definitive tribunal of preservation and interpretation in the Christian society. Thus arose a series of heresies, (4) some of which take as their starting point the Mosaic law, and others certain pagan concepts of creation and the origin of evil. The first gave rise to the Jewish Christians, of whom the most extreme recognized Christ as man only, while others accepted Him as God, but maintained as permanent the obligation of the Mosaic law, for Jews at least. Simon the Magician (Acts viii, 9:24), is the earliest arch heretic, followed by another Samaritan, Menander. Cerinthus and the Ebionites represent the Docetic element in these heresies, while the Elcesaites offer a transitional shading into Gnosticism. The numerous complex systems known by this latter name arose from the problem of the origin of evil. It exists in the world, and as God cannot be its author, the question arises: whence is the world? The philosophers of Gnosticism were not satisfied with the answer of Christian faith (πίστις); they desired an independent, more profound knowledge (γνῶσις), hence called Gnostics. An essential dualism of God and matter, the latter an eternal but formless entity, sometimes conceived as informed by an evil principle; the successive emanation from a remote and inactive God of certain spirits or Æons; their corresponding decrease in nature and power, and admixture of hylic or material elements with the Pleroma, or portion of the World of Light that is individualized in each spirit; the creation of the world by the Demiurgus or lowest Æon out of this mixture of matter and spirit (light); the redemption, imagined as a freeing of the particles of the spirit

sunk in matter; the identity of the Demiurgus with the Jehovah of the Old Testament; the sending of an Æon (Jesus) to accomplish the liberation of the spirit; the division of mankind into three classes, the "spiritual," the "material," and the "psychic" or simple ignorant Christians, the first of which are the elect or Gnostics; the restoration at the end of time of all things to that place which befits their nature in the system of being—such are the general and common elements of Gnosticism, in which the Christian religion met for the first time a systematic rationalism that affected the fullest knowledge where the Christian simply believed. It was preached and formulated by certain remarkable men, like Basilides, Valentine, and Carpocrates; its true home seems to have been Alexandria, the Paris of antiquity, though it maintained an active agency at Rome, and sought to seat itself in the apostolic chair. This was done chiefly through Marcion, who, though not a Gnostic proper, has points of contact with that heresy, especially in his description of the Demiurgus, or God of the Jews, as against the "good God," who was unknown until he descended on earth in the person of Jesus, and was afterwards crucified by the malice of the Jewish God. Between the Old and the New Testaments there is an irreconcilable opposition—the God of the former is cruel and terrible, the God of the latter is the God of Love. In the New Testament only the Gospel of St. Luke (minus the first two chapters) and some Epistles of St. Paul, are genuine. This heresy was particularly active, for it had adherents as late as the fifth century. The oriental Mani (d. A.D. 276) added to the number of the Gnostic systems a Persian Gnosis, made up of elements drawn from the Chaldæo-Babylonian, the Parsee and the Buddhist religions, in which are found the essential elements of the Alexandrine Gnosis, with a close imitation of Christian constitution and discipline.

Other heresies arose from the effort to reconcile the unity of God with the divine personality of the Son. Some maintained that the Son was really only the impersonal wisdom of the Father, but begotten in time, as the examplar of creation; thus there was no eternal generation of the Logos. Others, like Paul of Samosata, maintained that Jesus was only man, but that the divine impersonal Logos dwelt and worked in him. Still others imagined a successive revelation of the one Divinity as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three modes, as it were, that gave way to one another. This was the opinion of Sabellius, and it roused a vigorous opposition that was scarcely placated before the opening of the council of Nicæa.

The Chiliast or Millenarian expectations based on the Apocalypse (chapters 20, 21) seduced many Christians, chiefly in the course of the third century, and in Egypt. A revival of the primitive rigorism led to the sect of the Montanists, who eventually claimed special prophetical direction, and thus escaped from the yoke of church unity. At Rome and Carthage painful schisms broke out about the middle of the third century, apropos of the readmission of those who had fallen in the persecutions; a little later the same schism was renewed at Carthage by Donatus; a grave discord broke out in the church of Egypt under Meletius, while the church of Rome was also troubled by the schismatic attitude of one Heraclius.

In this long period of conflict, within and without, the original germs of the constitution of the Christian society developed. The true relation of the Old to the New Testament, as type to reality, was made clear. The character of Christianity as a religion, not a philosophy, was brought out, and the functions of faith and reason defined, if only in a large general way. The specific unity of Christian belief was symbolized in the growing habit of coöperation of the churches by means of synods. The culminating point of the hierarchy, the bishop of Rome, comes more often into sight, as the needs of defence multiply, or the essential unity of the society is more seriously threatened. In an embryonic way, every problem that the society must one day encounter on a large scale, has already presented itself; personal example has consecrated the principles of the Christian life; the lines of

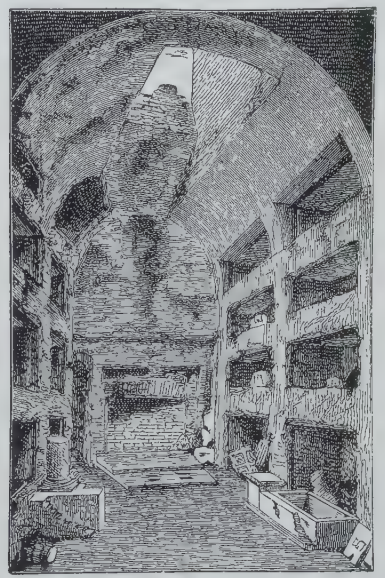
the society have been more clearly drawn, and its office in the world of mankind more widely illustrated; the possibilities of the gospel stand out more visibly to all; an art, a literature, and a legislation are at hand, imbued with a personal, absolute devotion to Jesus Christ as the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

4. CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN STATE. HERESY AND SCHISM.

(1) **The Christian Apologists and Roman Procedure.** — The Apologists do not ask for a change of law; they ask for a regulation of practice to accord with the law of the State. They demand for Christians a fair trial on some definite charge, attested by witnesses, with permission to make and prove their defence. They ask to be brought under the ordinary law; and they inveigh against the exercise of arbitrary authority against them on no definite charge. This, the most elementary right of citizens, had been absolutely denied them by the Flavian policy, which treated them as brigands. Trajan had left the Flavian principle unaltered, but had exempted them from active pursuit. The Apologists justly argue against the illogical nature of a policy which treats them like brigands when any one formally accuses them, but does not take the trouble to hunt for them; if they are brigands, it is the duty of the State to hunt them down. Even Hadrian had shrunk from the decisive step of clearly stating that Christianity was not in itself a crime; and this is the step which the Apologists urge upon the Emperors whom they address.—*Ramsay, "The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170," p. 344.*

(2) **Number of the Martyrs.**—During the succession of persecutions which came to an end on the accession of Constantine to supreme power and his adoption of the Christian faith, there were very many who submitted to imprisonment, torture, and death. Not a few, especially after long seasons of quiet, lacked the courage to face the terror, and saved their lives at the cost of their Christian fidelity. To offer sacrifice to the heathen gods, to procure from the heathen false testimonies to the effect that they had renounced Christianity, or to give up copies of the Scriptures on the demand of the magistrates, excluded those guilty of these offences from Christian fellowship. As to the total number of martyrs in the first three centuries, it was doubtless over-estimated by the church fathers, but it has been underrated by Gibbon, who draws a larger inference than is warranted from a passage in Origen. Gibbon, moreover, fails to take into account the multitude of instances where tortures were inflicted that resulted, not at once, yet eventually, in death. It was the heroic age in the history of the Church, when, with no aid from an arm of flesh, the whole might of the Roman empire was victoriously encountered by the unarmed and unresisting adherents of the Christian faith. Imperial Rome, the conqueror of the world, was herself overcome by the bands of Christian disciples, whose meek but dauntless courage was more than a match for all her power.—*G. P. Fisher, "History of the Christian Church" p. 50.*

(3) **Death Sentence of a Christian Martyr.** — Your life has long been led in a sacrilegious mode of thought—you have associated yourself with a very large number of persons in criminal complicity. You have constituted yourself an antagonist to the gods of Rome and to their sacred observances. Nor have our pious and most hallowed princes, Valerian and Gallien, the Augusti, and Valerian the most noble Cæsar, been able to recall you to the obedience of their own ceremonial. And, therefore, whereas you have been clearly detected as the instigator and standard bearer in very bad offences, you shall in your own person be a lesson to those whom you have by guilt of your own associated with you. Discipline shall be ratified with your blood. He



Third Century Burying-place of the Popes in Catacomb of St. Callixtus, Rome.

then took the prepared tablet and read, "Our pleasure is that Thascius Cyprianus be executed with the sword." "Thanks be to God," said Cyprian. — *From the Life of Cyprian by his Deacon Pontius, in Benson's "St. Cyprian," p. 503.*

(4) **The Church Universal and Heresies.** — One new heresy arose after another, and the former ones always passed away, and now at one time, now at another, now in one way, now in other ways, were lost in ideas of various kinds and various forms. But the splendor of the Catholic and only true Church, which is always the same, grew in magnitude and power, and reflected its piety and simplicity and freedom, and the modesty and purity of its inspired life and philosophy to every nation both of the Greeks and Barbarians. —*Eusebius, "Hist. Ecc., Bk. IV, p. 7, 13.*

5. THE OVERTHROW OF GRÆCO-ROMAN PAGANISM.

By the edict of Milan (A.D. 312) Constantine gave effect to his great victory at Saxa Rubra over Maxentius and raised Christianity to the dignity of a licit religion, with all the rights and privileges of the existing State religion. (1) The ecclesiastics were freed from certain charges, the Church enabled to inherit, the emancipation of slaves permitted before the Christian clergy and people, the Sunday legalized as a day of rest. The pagan religion was correspondingly restricted, although the emperor kept yet the title of "Pontifex Maximus," and the symbols of that office. During the next ten years his colleague Licinius endeavored to stem the tide of victorious Christianity, but in 323 lost both life and empire at the battle of Adrianople. Paganism was now systematically, but surely, suppressed. The great imperial charges were conferred on Christians, splendid churches built, divination, both public and private, forbidden; the temples were gradually abandoned, some being destroyed as especially dangerous to public morals. A new Rome, Christian in every sense, was built on the Bosphorus, called after the emperor, Constantinople (A.D. 330), and was thenceforth the official seat of the empire. Constantine died in 337, and was baptized on his deathbed. His imperfections were neither few nor slight, but he stands out in history as a man of genius and determination, peaceful and religious by inclination, but violent and harsh when his wishes were thwarted. (2) Under him there was again a Pax Romana. His children pursued his policy toward paganism, but with more insistence. In 341 Constantius recalls a law of his father against all sacrifices, hitherto poorly enforced, and soon in concert with his brother Constans (d. 350) closed the temples. In the following years he renewed these decrees. The short reign of Julian (361-363) gave fresh hope to the adherents of paganism, but the official prestige and the literary skill of Julian were unavailing; he could not galvanize the decaying forces of the old paganism, even by the adoption of Christian discipline and institutions. (3) His successor, Jovian, revoked the measures of Julian, whose apostasy had greatly irritated the Christians. His memory was accursed, as of one who had betrayed his God, though they admitted that he had not betrayed his country, but fought bravely for it. Valentinian I. (364-375) forbade again the sacrifices and nocturnal assemblies, but was otherwise tolerant, though henceforth the meetings of pagans were suspected as revolutionary in spirit. The term *paganism*, religion of *pagani* or the peasants, arose about this time, and indicates the reversal of ancient conditions. Gratian (375-383) refused the insignia of the pagan pontificate, suppressed all state subsidies to that worship, confiscated the revenues of the priesthoods and the vestals, as well as the temple-lands, limited the priestly immunities, and sided with St. Ambrose in the famous affair of the Altar of Victory, by ordering its removal from the Roman Senate, now in the majority Christian. In the Orient, the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria (391) was the death-knell of the old religion, which again held up its head in the West during the brief usurpation of Eugenius (392-394).

But Arcadius (395-408) withdrew from the priesthoods all remaining privileges and closed the rural temples, while in the West Stilicho burned the Sibylline books. Theodosius II. excluded (416) the pagans from official functions, and (448) caused all anti-Christian writings to be burned. Justinian (527-565) declared pagans incapable of possessing, and closed the last nursery of Greco-Roman paganism, the schools of Athens.

It is true that the purity and severity of the Christian life suffered much from the influx of great multitudes of ignorant or selfish converts, who were Christians only in name. There was also no little crypto-paganism and a sad mixture of pagan and Christian elements in popular belief and life. (4) Yet this fourth century is also a period of extraordinary and intelligent activity on the part of the Church and her

ministers. Great enterprises of benevolence are carried on by the bishops; every form of public charity finds expression; the evil of slavery was greatly mitigated, and by the spiritual equality of master and slave the world was prepared for the extirpation of its greatest injustice. Under Constantine the murder of a slave was classed with assassination; under Justinian, all legal obstacles to emancipation were set aside, the class of freedmen suppressed and made citizens, and slaves permitted, with the master's consent, to marry free women. Certain cruelties of legal procedure were abolished — thus, stamping the forehead with a heated iron. The cross soon ceased to be an instrument of torture. Prisoners were treated with more humanity; the bishops were charged with the visitation of the prisons. The right of asylum was accorded to the churches. The respect for human life was inculcated; abortion and abandonment of infants were severely denounced, as well as the gladiatorial games. Suicide was treated as a grave crime against the rights of the Creator. The public morals were improved by the solemn and practical reprobation of pederasty, adultery, and concubinage. Doubtless, in individual cases, the pagan conscience had already risen to some of these betterments, but only sporadically, and without any lasting effect on the social order. That conscience had no leverage outside of itself, no religious sanction in a firm belief in immortality, divine justice, sin and human responsibility. (5) and (6)

Emperor Justinian and his Courtiers.

5. THE OVERTHROW OF GRÆCO-ROMAN PAGANISM.

(1) **The Edict of Milan.**—Perceiving long ago that religious liberty ought not to be denied, but that it ought to be granted to the judgment and desire of each individual to perform his religious duties according to his own choice, we had given orders that every man, Christian as well as others, should preserve the faith of his own sect and religion. But since in that rescript, in which such liberty was granted them, many and various conditions seemed clearly added, some of them it may be, after a little, retired from such observance. When I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, came under favorable auspices to Milan and took under consideration everything which pertained to the commonweal and prosperity, we resolved among other things, or rather first of all, to make such decrees as seemed in many respects for the benefit of every one; namely, such as should preserve reverence and piety toward the deity. We resolved, that is, to grant both to the Christians and to all men freedom to follow the religion which they choose, that whatever heavenly divinity exists may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government, etc.—*Eusebius, "Hist. Ecc.," Bk. X, c.v. § 2.*

(2) **Sincerity of Constantine.**—Was Constantine sincere in his famous conversion, or was he moved by deep political calculations? Let us understand what we understand by sincerity and faith. If we mean that penitent compunction which works the reform of the heart's vices, frees it from earthly attachments, purifies it of the dross of human passion, such a faith was vouchsafed only on his death-bed to the ambitious and often cruel Constantine. If we mean by faith a belief in the gospel revelation, respect for the supernatural power of Christ and for the infallible authority of His Church, a firm will to submit to it, and even to incur grave political embarrassment and real peril, an efficient and deep admiration for the truth,—if all these sentiments, that do not, indeed, suffice to save a soul, yet deserve consideration as guarantees of conscientious conviction, then there can be no reason to doubt the sincerity of Constantine. No motive of self-interest could have urged him to alienate, by the sudden profession of a new religion, more than one-half of his subjects, and to break thereby with all the reminiscences and traditions of his empire. Once a Christian, had he cared for power only, he would not have shared in the domestic quarrels of the Church with that peculiar mixture of indecision and ardor; he would have issued his orders without discussion. Given

his strength of character and his irresistible power, this very hesitancy, the offspring of scruples only, is a sure proof of his good faith.—*De Broglie, "L'Église et l'Etat au Quatrième Siècle," Vol. I, p. 381.*

(3) **The Pagan Restoration under Julian.**—Although Julian pretends that in all things he desires to avoid "novelties," yet on the aged trunk of paganism he grafted many new ideas and practices. The loans made from Christianity demand especial attention, as they show that the time was ripe for its operation, that it fitted in with the desires and needs of this society, and was made for it, since Julian, who detested Christianity, felt that he could successfully oppose it only by imitating it. But the imitation was a lame one; it undertook to combine mutually destructive principles. Neither party recognized its own in this incoherent system. It was scarcely worth the while to suppress Christianity if its best elements were to be retained. If the world could profit by the Christian life, what better interpreter of it than Christianity? Julian was anxious to save from complete ruin the remnants of ancient civilization, and his intention was praiseworthy. They contained more than one element that deserved survival and engrafting into our modern society. But those very elements were already in process of assimilation by Christianity. They were infiltrating into it from all sides, since it had put off so much of its severity, and come down into the world of every-day life. Soon the amalgam would be complete. The enterprise of Julian was utterly useless; his purpose was being worked out in another manner and under better auspices. His work might well perish; the world had nothing to lose by his failure.—*Gaston Boissier, "La Fin du Paganisme," I, p. 167.*

(4) **Did Decaying Heathenism Corrupt Christianity?**—If we are forced to admit that religious assimilation played a gravely important rôle in the breaking up of the old heathen life, we must at the same time acknowledge that, all circumstances considered, the new religion owed its victory to itself alone. Compromise in some points between the new faith and the old, the solid and prudent organization of the Church, her beneficent activity, the coöperation of the state, may have been important subsidiary factors in hastening the process of dissolution,—they were not the great central force that overthrew paganism. The fourth century merely witnessed the happy termination of the warfare between the superior religious energies of Christianity and the cults of heathenism that had raged in the pre-Constantinian period, and laid bare the helplessness of the ancient state during the last phases of the secular struggle. Perhaps in following centuries the Christian ideal was neither so sublime nor so pure. It remains true that the heathen world was very far from offering anything like it. Indeed, in spite of whatsoever contact may have happened with heathenism, Christianity stood over against it as something absolutely new. The humankind of the time was deeply religious in temperament, and could not therefore long escape the conviction that it had entered into the possession of the very highest religious ideal. And the victory of Christianity could not fail to be final and thorough, as soon as it won over the middle classes, in which lingered, as a domestic spiritual heirloom, the ancient spirit of veneration and submissiveness towards a higher power. Once they were won over, the unthinking multitudes, to whom religion was a mechanical custom, followed without difficulty.—*Schultze, "Untergang des Griechisch—roemischen Heidentums," p. 384.*

(5) **Christian Morality and Roman Civilization.**—In this great restoration of civilization which is due mainly to the impulse and the power of Christian morality, a great place must be given to the direct influence of Christian aspects of life and ideas of duty. Christian ideas of purity acted directly on all that was connected with family and domestic life. They forbade, with intense and terrible severity, before which even passion quailed, the frightful liberty in the relations of the sexes which in Greece, and at last in Rome had been thought so natural. Here was one great point fixed: the purification of the home, the sanctity thrown round the wife and the mother, the rescuing of the unmarried from the assumed license of nature, the protection given to the honor of the female slave and then of the female servant, were social victories well worth the unrelenting and often extravagant asceticism which was, perhaps, their inevitable price at first. . . . . So with the fiercer tempers and habits of men; against cruelty, against high-handed oppression and abuse of strength there was a constant unyielding protest in the Christian law of justice and charity, continually unheeded, never unfelt; even war and vengeance were uneasy under the unceasing though unavailing rebuke of the gospel law, and made concessions to it, though too strong, too fatally necessary, to submit to it.—*Dean Church, "Civilization Before and After Christianity," p. 140.*

(6) **Modification of Latin Character.**—Whence, in these races sprung from the subjects of the sternest of emperors and moulded under its influence, this reversal of the capital and leading marks, by which they are popularly known and characterized; this development of the emotional part of their nature, this craving after the beautiful in art? Whence the inexhaustible fertility and inventiveness, the unfailing taste and tact and measure, the inexpressible charm of delicacy and considerate forethought and exuberant sympathy, which are so distinctly French, and which mark what is best in French character and French writings? Whence that Italian splendor of imagination and profound insight into those subtle connections by which objects of the outward senses stir and charm and ennoble the inward soul? Who was it who in the ages of confusion which followed the fall of the empire, sowed and ripened the seeds which were to blossom into such wondrous poetry in the fourteenth century, into such a matchless burst of art in the fifteenth and sixteenth? Who touched in these Latin races the hidden vein of tenderness, the "fount of tears," the delicacies and courtesies of mutual kindness, the riches of art and the artist's earnestness? . . . It was the conversion of the races to the faith of Christ.—*Dean Church, "The Gifts of Civilization," p. 203.*

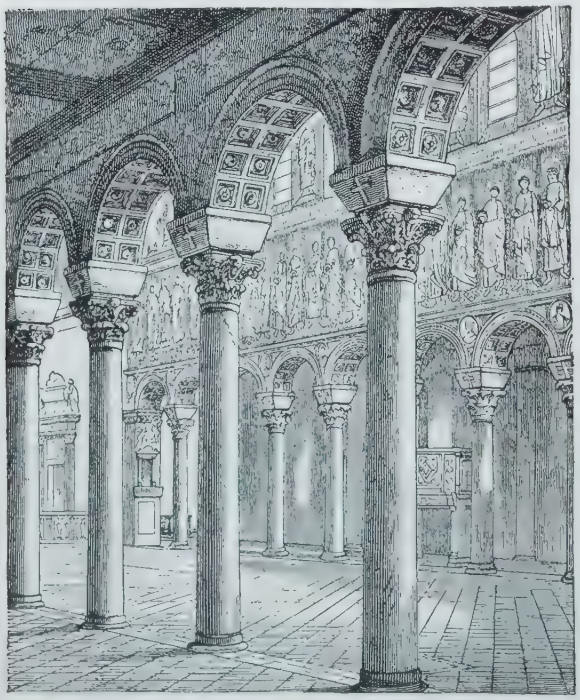
6. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CHRISTIANIZED EMPIRE.

After the example of Constantine, his successors looked upon themselves as clothed with a quasi-episcopal character in all matters pertaining to the public relations of Christianity. In theory they acknowledged the spiritual independence of the bishops, and, when occasion offered, they rendered efficient support in preserving the unity of discipline and belief, as in their conduct toward the Donatists and the Manichæans. They enriched the churches not only with subsidies and revenues, but with lands, church-plate, quasi-municipal authority and privileges. As the emperor was the shadow of God on earth in the civil order, so the bishop was the present disinterested providence of the emperor protecting the people. Without formal proclamation there grew up an intimate concord of scope and spirit between the two orders, and the prophetic vision of a "Kingdom of God," a "City of God," seemed about to be realized among men. In proportion as the internal comfort and security of the state decreased, the need of religious harmony was evident. The Arian heresy in the fourth century, with all its minor imitators, and the great Christological controversies of Nestorianism and Monophysitism in the fifth century, emphasized this passion of spiritual unity, and revealed in the imperial soul one of the great political motives that, unconsciously enough but efficaciously, drew it toward Christianity—the latter's theory of fraternal unity and intelligent and willing subordination on a world-wide scale. On this head there is something supremely sad in the utterances of Constantine apropos of his attempts to suppress the schism of the Donatists. The great heresies were the storm centers, the political "oppositions" of the day, and they swept into their path of action whatever elements of discord, disaffection and revolution were lying around unorganized. The emperors were driven to and fro between the unbending orthodoxy of the Church and the implacable obstinacy of great bodies of heretics, who were often dissatisfied with the remote and absolutist central government, and secretly gave ear to velleities of national or racial freedom. As the prestige of conquest waned and the fiction of an invincible state, the value of religious unity stood out more clearly, and its preservation became a very obsession of the emperor. Hence impossible treaties, promises shattered on the ledge of principle, temporary combinations and makeshifts. Hence the alternate pursuit of Athanasius and Ambrose, the exiles of Nestorius, and the Eutychians, the hunting of Donatists and the tortures of Priscillianists. Hence a gradual encroachment, for the sake of present gain or immediate relief, on the independence of the Church, and the gradual awakening of the latter to the dangers that lay in this intimate alliance of two powers, each claiming the whole man, even if under widely different aspects? The sorrows of Vigilius and the sufferings of Martin are the outcome of the policy that banished in turn an Arius and an Athanasius, forgetful of its own original and noble policy as outlined in the edict of Milan.

Christian missions spread the faith in this period through Persia, Armenia, Georgia, Abyssinia, even in China, Southern Arabia, and the East; among the Visigoths and Ostrogoths in the West, though under the form of Arian heresy, and among other Teutonic tribes, notably the Burgundians and Vandals. The conversion of Ireland opened the way to Christianity among the Keltic peoples.

Within the Church itself new offices appear, archpriest, archdeacon; the diocese is divided into parishes; the ecclesiastical celibacy is strictly enforced in the West, while the East retains the more ancient liberty; new patriarchates arise, like Constantinople and Jerusalem. Above all, the primacy of the Roman See is more steadily asserted and accepted, as a rule, by all the churches. In all the great Christological and anthropological controversies Rome stands well to the front on the side of orthodoxy, and deals with the emperors as a power apart and vicarious for the whole Church. The conciliar institution reaches now its fullest growth; a

written and fixed liturgy, an ecclesiastical year with its recurrent feasts, the veneration of Saints and of their images, the institution of monachism, the growth of a peculiar Christian art, notably the basilical architecture and the arts of miniature and of working in mosaic and ivory. Above all, an independent literature, Greek and Latin, with its echoes in Syriac, Armenian, Coptic and Ethiopic, developed in controversy, bearing all the marks of a time of "Sturm und Drang," but original and pregnant, capable of inspiring ten centuries to come, of furnishing them with great ideas, and of moulding new vernaculars to transmit the same. (1)



Church of St. Apollinaris, in Ravenna. Sixth Century.

Unfortunately for the hopes of Christianity, this period of its growth was closed by the apparition of Islam along the line of the Eastern provinces of the empire. Mahomet (570-632) set himself up as an inspired prophet of monotheism with an admixture of Christian and Jewish elements, the whole leavened by Semitic fanaticism. He precipitated multitudes of desert swordsmen on an empire weakened in all its extremities by economic exhaustion, crystallized religious dissension, reviving nationalisms, multitudes of wandering exiled Jews. (2) The overthrow by Heraclius of the Persian Chosroes (628) did not stay the terrific rapidity of the propagation of Islam. Its success, brought about by a skillful or lucky combination of fanaticism, toleration, cajolery, sensual concessions, positive and negative proselytism, closed the Orient to Greek Christianity, and shut up the great heart of the empire between unelastic, unsympathetic polities, East and West.

6. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CHRISTIANIZED EMPIRE.

(1) **The Evolution of the Church.** — In this time the Church has, indeed, reached the measure of a world-power, a mighty kingdom of the Lord, embracing in a higher unity both Hellene and barbarian, sharing with each her higher dignity, and destined to outlive both the one and the other. Equipped with few earthly helps, working through weak human organs, subject to conflict at every step, she still wrests from unwilling hands her independence; in time she forges new weapons, spiritual and temporal, to protect it against new attacks, and to permit her unceasingly to interpenetrate and saturate with her spirit the popular life. In place of the lovable but artless ingenuousness and simplicity of worship, doctrinal technology, and discipline, we have the riper charm and witchery of the beautiful, the radiant and mature perfection of form, without quite sacrificing the unassuming naturalness of an earlier phase of Christian life. The inner life of the Church could not but exhibit itself in her exterior, and in manifold shapes. All dormant forces had to be aroused; popes and councils vied with one another in rooting out the tares of evil and in planting the germs of good. From mean beginnings sprang the great corporations of the Orders. On a few simple words of the New Testament were built up marvelous institutions of charity, masterpieces of literature, lives that acted as magnets of attraction, as inspirations to similar perfection. Over the narrow corridors and chambers of the Catacombs the splendid basilicas lifted their vast, reposeful lines. On all sides the supernatural suffuses with its light the natural, but without doing violence to the latter's intrinsic bent or trend. The peoples of Greek and Roman culture were in the eventide of their vocation; strong and youthful races move up into the foreground of history. They are the chosen material with which the Church is to work out more successfully her mission to humanity.— *Hergenrœther, "Kirchengeschichte," Vol. I, p. 653.*

(2) **Causes of Byzantine Decay.**—The history of Constantinople is little more than the record of a despotic power. So far from presenting the interest and advantage which must always attach to the history of the most insignificant of free peoples, it is hardly the history of a people at all. It is the story of a government, not of a nation; of a government indeed, which, with all its faults, for many centuries discharged its functions better than any contemporary government in the world, but which never called forth that warmth of patriotic affection which gathers round the stormiest commonwealth in which the citizen feels that he is himself a partner, which often gathers round the vilest despotism, if the tyrant is still felt to be the chief of his own people. But the emperor of the Romans never became a national sovereign to the Egyptian or the Syrian, or even to the Sicilian or Peloponnesian Greek.—*Freeman, "Historical and Political Essays," Vol. III, p. 241.*

FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **FROM THE FALL OF JERUSALEM TO THE MIDDLE AGES.**—Roman rule, Dispersion, Temple defiled, Legalism, the Mishna, The Talmud, Karaites, Gershom, Maimonides.
2. **FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO MODERN TIMES.**—Persecutions and their pretexts, Expulsions, Habitat after 1500, Traditionalism, Religious freedom, Mendelssohn, Zionism.
3. **DIFFUSION OF THE ECCLESIA. ITS CONSTITUTION.**—Geographical description of earliest Christian communities, Estimate of number of Christians about A.D. 300, Hierarchy and Laity, Choice and Support of Clergy, Church of Rome.
4. **CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN STATE. HERESY AND SCHISM.**—Official character of persecutions, their number and immediate causes, Decius and Diocletian, Nature of heresy, Earliest sources and representatives.
5. **THE OVERTHROW OF GRECO-ROMAN PAGANISM.**—Attitude of Constantine toward paganism, Attitude of his children, of later Emperors, The consequences, legal, political and social.
6. **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CHRISTIANIZED EMPIRE.**—Relations of the imperial and ecclesiastical authorities, Encouragement of missions, Development of hierarchy, of ecclesiastical institutions, The Church of Rome, Growth of Islam, Its causes.

Arch of Constantine in the Forum in Rome.

QUESTIONS.

1. *Describe the political condition of the Jews under Rome. What was the tendency up to Constantine's time? What was the Talmud? What distinguished the twelfth century?*
2. *Describe the political and social condition of the Jews during the Middle Ages. When was religious freedom first granted them? What did Mendelssohn recommend?*
3. *In what lands did primitive Christianity make its first converts? What were the human causes of its rapid spread? What were the relations between bishop, priests and deacons?*
4. *What was the keynote of the earliest imperial procedure against Christians? By what literary means did Christians defend themselves? What were the two chief sources of the earliest heresies?*
5. *What was the Edict of Milan? What was the origin of the term "pagans"? Under what emperor was paganism finally and officially abrogated?*
6. *Describe the particular services of the Christian Emperors to the new religion. What caused their varying attitude in the great heresies? What missions did the Church undertake in this period? What notable institutions were developed?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The fate of men without a country.*
2. *The fate of religion isolated from other culture-elements.*
3. *The development of the Roman Church.*
4. *The archæological evidences of the persecutions.*
5. *The influences of Neoplatonism.*
6. *The formation of the imperial Byzantine character.*

7. CONVERSION OF BARBARIAN EUROPE.

The conversion of the Angles and Saxons in Britain, though not the first of the national Teutonic conversions, was scarcely less momentous than the conversion of Chlodwig and his Franks. In 596 Augustine landed in England with forty monks, sent by Gregory I., and eventually succeeded in establishing two ecclesiastical provinces: Canterbury and York. The Roman mission was supplemented in 633 by the mission of Irish monks of St. Columba from Iona, under whom the Christian discipline was restored, and a fresh impetus given to the conversion of the island, which was accomplished in the reign of Caedwalla (685-688). (1)

The Ruthwell Cross in Scotland. Seventh Century. Such Crosses were incised with Biblical scenes, and formed centers of devotion.

The battle of Tolbiac (496), which decided the conversion to Christianity of Chlodwig (Clovis), King of the Franks, was also the beginning of the conversion of the Alemans or Suabians, who suffered defeat in that conflict. A hundred years later they were still pagan, when the Irish monks, Gallus and Columbanus, began their permanent conversion, which was accomplished by 750. Their neighbors, the Bavarians, were finally converted by Ruprecht of Worms in the latter half of the seventh century, at which time the peoples of Thuringia received the faith from Irish monks, under the guidance of Kilian. Bishoprics and monasteries were usually founded to sustain the labors of the missionaries. For nearly fifty years the Anglo-Saxon monk Willibrod (690-739) toiled among the Frisians in the Netherlands after receiving episcopal consecration at Rome (695). All these efforts were unified and solidified by the Anglo-Saxon Winfrid (680-754), who received in 719 the name of Boniface from Pope Gregory II., with the mission to evangelize Germany. To this he devoted the rest of his life, converting new tribes, extirpating abuses, organizing both old and new communities, and establishing on all sides institutions destined to foster his work. The building of monasteries of men and women, the creation of episcopal sees, the holding of reform councils, frequent journeys to Rome, constant correspondence, fill up the days of the great apostle, who was eventually martyred by pagan Frisians. At Paderborn (777-785) the Saxons at last yielded and accepted baptism, but not until they had exhausted the patience of the great Karl, and brought about at Verden the cruel massacre of 4,500 of their own. From the Saxon monastery of Corbie, Anschar went out (826) to convert Denmark, but it was only slowly that the nation was won over from Hamburg to Aarhus (988). Early in the eleventh century seeds of Christianity were sown in Sweden, where they ripened slowly. From Haco the Good to Olaf Tryggvason (938-1000) Norway was the scene of Christian missionary labors. The self-exiled Northmen who

harried the continent were converted in the lands they raided, as in Ireland and Normandy. About the year 1000 Christianity was established firmly both in Iceland and Greenland. At the same time it was making rapid strides in the Slavic world. Croatia, Carinthia and Moravia were the first to accept the gospel, brought to them through Roman or German missionaries, especially by way of Passau or Salzburg. Saints Cyril and Methodius, priests of Constantinople, are, however, the true apostles of the Slavic peoples. To Cyril the Slavs owed their (Glagoliza) alphabet, and to Methodius the use of the vernacular tongue in the liturgy. Bohemia became Christian (845-875) after grave internal dissensions; about 965, the Bohemian wife of the Duke of Poland determined the conversion of that nation, and the establishment of episcopal sees at Posen and Gnesen. The Wends between the Elbe and the Oder were compelled to receive the Christian faith in the latter half of the tenth century, but as late as 1066 they were still rebellious. Servia and Bulgaria accepted about 868 the religion of their Greek conquerors, while the following century (862-987) saw the conversion of those Varangian descendants of the tribe of Russ, who had founded Russia. At the battle of Lech (955) Otto I. broke the power of the Hungarians, who soon after became Christian, notably under King Stephen the Pious (897-1038), though his example and his generosity to the new religion did not prevent a subsequent century of disorder. These gains in the North and East of Europe were set off to some extent by losses in the Spanish peninsula, where the battle of Xérès de la Frontera (711) established an Arab dynasty on the throne of the Visigoths, and opened a new chapter of alternate peace and warfare. The battle of Poitiers (732) saved the rest of Europe from Islam, but the ninth century in particular saw several successful attempts of the Saracens in Sicily, Italy and even in Provence.

The five centuries in which was effected the conversion of Central, Northern and Eastern Europe offer a striking spectacle. Christian virtue was brought home to millions of men who had never risen above the ideal of animal courage. In the persons of apostles and saints of both sexes a spiritual world was opened up that gave employment to the crushed or famished instincts of the heart. Woman, the slave, the captive, the child, the failures even of barbarian society, appeared in a new light, transfigured as brethren in Christ. A host of new ideas clamored for expression in the vernaculars of semi-savage tribes. The Roman private law, so equable, rational and common-human in its spirit and provisions; the canon law, so evangelical and other-worldly in its scope and method, perfected or modified their rude customary usages and procedure. (2) A certain detritus of ancient culture was preserved as sacred fire, which would one day quicken into mediæval literature and art. The Church itself was now just such a society as was needed by the barbarian tribes: motherly and compassionate, where they were rude and violent; universal, where they were splintered into infinite sections; refined, where they were coarse and uncouth; related intimately to all past history, peoples and civilization, where they were but emerging from their forests or deserts. (3) In these centuries they learned what virtue was when practiced by the Christian: their own institutions, like feudalism, took on something of Christian mildness and mysticism. Then was seen that rare phenomenon, an apostolic nation, in the persons of the thousands of Irish missionaries who flooded Central Europe, while their disciples and imitators, the Anglo-Saxons, were scarcely less active and devoted. (4) In the latter half of this period bloodshed and force appear as unchristian and deplorable elements of persuasion,—a fanatic crusading spirit, that often saw in the baptism of the pagan tribes the sure renunciation of old national or racial independence or opposition. Nor could this vast work be done without some concession to the popular passions or traditions, as living in pagan superstitions. They were gradually eliminated or allowed to live on under forms that did not seriously affect Christian principles or doctrine. That there is a certain unity in this long missionary move-

ment is owing to the direction and influence of the Roman Church, to which mediately or immediately are referable the impulses that brought these Northern nations into the Church.

7. CONVERSION OF BARBARIAN EUROPE.

(1) **Venerable Bede on Pope Gregory.**—At this time, that is, in the year of Our Lord 605, the blessed Pope Gregory, after having most gloriously governed the Roman apostolic see thirteen years six months and ten days, died, and was translated to the eternal see of the heavenly kingdom. Of whom, in regard that he by his zeal converted our nation, the English, from the power of Satan to the faith of Christ, it behooves us to discourse more at large in our ecclesiastical history, for we may and ought rightly to call him our apostle; because, whereas he bore the pontifical power over all the world, and was placed over the churches already reduced to the faith of truth, he made our nation, till then given up to idols, the Church of Christ, so that we may be allowed thus to attribute to him the character of an apostle; for though he is not an apostle to others, yet he is so to us; for we are the seal of his apostleship in the Lord.—"*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*," *Bk. II, c. 1.*

(2) **The Elevation of Civil Authority.**—The most august thing on earth is the royal dignity; but it is full of danger, solicitude, and fatigue. All power comes from God, but human kings reign, and legislatures fix the laws. You will therefore be obliged to give an account to God of the flock which is confided to you. Above all, observe the duties of pity, and serve the Lord your God with all your soul, and with a pure heart. Maintain with firmness before the whole world justice, without which no society can last, and distribute to the good their proper reward, and to the wicked their proper punishment. Protect the widows and orphans, the poor and the weak against all oppression. Be gracious to all who seek to approach you, mild and affable, for that beseems the royal dignity. Fulfill your functions in life, so that men may say that you governed not in your own interest, but in that of the people, and expect the recompense of your good actions not on this earth, but in heaven.—*The "Roman Pontificate" on the Consecration of Kings.*

(3) **Civilization and the Christian Missionaries.**—The crowd of unknown saints whose names fill the calendars, and live, some of them, only in the titles of our churches, mainly represent the age of heroic spiritual ventures, of which we see glimpses in the story of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany; of St. Columban and St. Gall wandering from Ireland to reclaim the barbarians of the Burgundian deserts, and of the shores of the Swiss lakes. It was among men like these —men who were termed emphatically "men of religion"—that the new races first saw the example of life ruled by a great and serious purpose, which yet was not one of ambition or the excitement of war; a life of deliberate and steady industry, of hard and uncomplaining labor; a life as full of activity in peace, of stout and brave work as a warrior's was wont to be in the camp, on the march, in the battle. It was in these men, and in the Christianity which they taught, and which inspired and governed them, that the fathers of our modern nations first saw exemplified the sense of human responsibility; first learned the nobleness of a ruled and disciplined life; first enlarged their thoughts of the uses of existence; first were taught the dignity and sacredness of honest toil. These great axioms of modern life passed silently from the special homes of religious employment to those of civil; from the cloisters and cells of men, who, when they were not engaged in worship, were engaged in field work or book work—clearing the forest, extending cultivation, multiplying manuscripts—to the guild of the craftsman, the shop of the trader, the study of the scholar. Religion generated and fed these ideas of what was manly and worthy in man. Once started, they were reinforced from other sources; thought and experience enriched, corrected, and co-ordinated them. But it was the power and sanction of a religion and a creed which first broke men into their yoke that now seems so easy, gradually wrought their charm over human restlessness, and indolence, and pride, gradually reconciled mankind to the ideas and the ideas to mankind, gradually impressed them on that vague but yet real thing which we call the general thought and mind of a nation.—*Dean Church, "Christianity and the Teutonic Races," p. 241.*

(4) **Rome and the Anglo-Saxons.**—Henceforth the Saxon was no longer the Red Indian of the classic peoples, but a member of the world-wide church. Quicker than Frank or Lombard, he caught the spirit of Rome, and as long as he held the soil of England was unswervingly faithful to her. Through her came all his culture—the fine arts and music, and the love of letters. His books came from her libraries, and she sent him his first architects and masons. From her, too, he received with the faith the principles of Roman law and procedure. When he went abroad it was to her that he turned his footsteps, and when he wearied of life in his pleasant island home he betook himself to Rome to end his days beneath the shadow of St. Peter. In the long history of Christian Rome she never knew a more romantic and deep-set attachment on the part of any people than that of the Angles and Saxons, who for centuries cast at her feet not only their faith and their hearts, but their lives, their crowns, and their very home itself. Surely there must have been something extraordinary in the character of their first apostle, a great well-spring of affection, a happy and sympathetic estimate of the national character to call forth such an outpouring of gratitude, and such a devotion, not only to the Church of Rome, but to the civilization that she represented. Today the English-speaking peoples are in the van of all human progress and culture, and the English tongue is likely to become at no distant date the chief vehicle of human thought and hope. Both these peoples and their tongues are today great composites, whose elements it would not be easy to segregate. But away back at their fountain-head, where they issue from the twilight of their history, there stands a great and noble figure who gave them their first impetus on the path of religion and refinement, and to whom must always belong a large share of the credit which they enjoy.—*T. J. Shahan, "Gregory the Great," in the Catholic World, Jan., 1895, p. 516.*

8. THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

The splendid theory of an orderly coöperation of all the spiritual and temporal forces of Christians under the pope and the emperor as representatives, each in his own order, of Jesus Christ, was the basic idea of mediæval life in the West. (1) The coronation of Charlemagne at Rome on Christmas Day, 800, proclaimed the restoration of a system whose germs are traceable to a very early period of Christianity. Nor did it always remain a theory; even in the disorders subsequent on the death of Charlemagne it continued to impress the individual as the desirable ideal; it was never abandoned by the churches, and it was strong enough, after a century of abeyance, to awake in the Othos, and successfully hold its own for three hundred years. In the ninth and tenth centuries no man arose in the State of the measure of Charlemagne to adapt the theory to the situation, and the Roman Church produced no pope of genius in the same time to dominate a scene of miscellaneous embryonic institutions and bring unity and purpose out of a manifold but disorganized activity. The splintering of his State by the will of Charlemagne was a first rude blow at the fabric so laboriously evolved out of the wreck of the Roman provincial governments and the interim kingdoms of barbarians. The growth of the imperial *missi* into hereditary feudal lords rendered it doubly difficult to fully realize the imperial idea, while the independence of the French Carlovingians, of the Arab state in Spain, and of the British Isles, reduced the actual power to very moderate limits. To this must be added the fierce turbulence of the Roman nobles and people who balanced Emperor and Pope against their own license, and, more than any other single element, contributed to the imperfection of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. Constantinople never forgave this empire the impertinence of its existence; the remnants of Italian freedom in the North gathered about the empire's own great vassals; the semi-bandit nobles of the Campagna closely allied to the "militia" of the Eternal City, dreamed of the Empire of Trajan and Hadrian; the Greeks of Southern Italy felt the quickening pulse of blood as they looked towards the East; the popes were constantly obliged to resent encroachments or to enter into personal conflict, on moral grounds, with the degenerate heirs of Charlemagne. (2) Family dissensions long divided them; when these seem exhausted, the Northman and the Hun ravage the heart of the Empire until the conversion of Rollo (912) and the battle of Lech (955) leave Christian Europe free from immediate fear of pagan domination. The Saxon emperors cherish the dream of the ancient Roman state; they exercise considerable, but not unhealthful, pressure on the Roman Church; the pious, mystical, Catholic element is uppermost in these Othos and first Henrys. So, too, the Franconian line. But in the latter half of the eleventh century the Church, responding to influences from Cluny, began to take alarm at her gradual enslavement, and under Henry IV. and Gregory VII. broke out the famous quarrel concerning the investiture of the bishops, whether by crozier and ring or by the royal sceptre. Many of them, especially in Germany, had long been great feudataries; as such, their offices were equivalent to the highest charges in the State. Hence their election, by abuse, had gradually fallen into the hands of the emperors, and thereby the reform of the clergy in the matters of simony and incontinency made

Henry IV., Emperor of Germany.

impossible. Whatever the wisdom of individual steps or the political shortcomings of individual popes, each felt that in this long struggle he was holding out for an essential condition of Christian truth and life. (3) Under the Hohenstaufen the struggle reached its acme. Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II. waged an almost unrelenting war against the papacy. The latter, in the persons of Alexander III. (1159-1181) and Gregory IX. (1227-1241), was not unequal to the task, and by spiritual and temporal weapons, including deposition of the Emperor, came out victorious. In 1268 the last of the Hohenstaufen, the little Conradin, perished by a cruel death; the Empire was broken, masterless; a sad inheritance of suspicion, vendetta, and irreligiosity was stored up for the near future; the theory of the pope and the emperor was made obsolete by the new power of kings, and the incipient states of modern Europe. The failure of the mediæval political ideal is not traceable to its impossible sublimity, nor to the intractability of the popes. The sense of growth and power, the decay of earnest faith through wealth and scandal and delayed reform, the example of Constantinople and her subservient clergy, the subtler influences of Islam, the increase and union of scattered anti-ecclesiastical forces, the antithesis of imperial and peninsular interests, the evil influences of the study of the absolutist Roman law, were among the influences that worked on the Hohenstaufen emperors and their counsellors.

8. THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

(1) **Theory of the Mediæval Empire.** — It is that of an universal Christian monarchy. The Roman Empire and the Catholic Church are two aspects of one society, a society ordained by the divine will to spread itself over the whole world. Of this society Rome is marked out by divine decree as the predestined capital, the chief seat alike

Bishops of the Eleventh Century.

of spiritual and of temporal rule. At the head of this society, in its temporal character as an Empire, stands the temporal chief of Roman Christendom, the Roman Cæsar. At its head, in its spiritual character as a Church, stands the spiritual chief of Christendom, the Roman Pontiff. Cæsar and Pontiff alike rule by divine right, each as God's immediate Vicar within his own sphere. Each ruler is bound to the other by the closest ties. The Cæsar is the Advocate of the Roman Church, bound to defend her by the temporal arm against all temporal enemies. The Pontiff, on the other hand, though the Cæsar holds his rank not of him, but by an independent divine commission, has the lofty privilege of admitting the Lord of the World to his high office, of hallowing the Lord's Anointed, and of making him in some sort a partaker in the mysterious privileges of the priesthood.—*Freeman, "The Holy Roman Empire," Essays (I) p. 138.*

(2) **The Papacy and Royal Divorces.** — The popes never rendered greater service to humanity than when they repressed in the person of princes the excesses of that passion which is terrible even in mild men, but which is beyond description in the case of violent natures, and which will forever laugh at the holiest laws of marriage, once it knows no fear. . . . The holiness of marriage, that basis of the public weal, is of the highest importance in royal families where certain disorders have an unsuspected and incalculable effect. Unless the popes were in a condition to control the great passions of the chiefs of the northern nations, these princes would have gone from one abuse, from one caprice to another, and ended by legalizing divorce and perhaps polygamy. Their example would surely find imitators in every class of society. What eye could fathom the limits of such a relaxation of law and order?—*De Maistre, "Du Pope," Bk. II, c. VII.*

(3) **The Mediæval Popes and Public Order.**— During the Middle Ages, when there was no social order, the Papacy, alone perhaps, saved Europe from total barbarism. It created bonds of connection between the most distant nations; it was a common center, a rallying point for isolated States. . . . It was a supreme tribunal, established in the midst of universal anarchy, and its decrees were sometimes as respectable as they were respected. It prevented and arrested the despotism of the Emperors, compensated for the want of equilibrium and diminished the inconveniences of the feudal system.—*Ancillon, "Tableau des Revolutions, Etc.," I, pp. 79, 106.*

9. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

The government of the Mediæval Church presents a varied development, the outcome of a multitude of circumstances that differ according to age and nation. In the early part we have the mixed or national synods and the canonical or common life for the clergy, the tithes, the advocates or protectors of the churches. The latter enjoy a growing independence of jurisdiction, civil and general, over their clergy, immunities of many kinds, certain sovereign rights. On the other hand, the care of the poor, the sick, and strangers fall on them. The cathedrals and abbeys are the chief centres of mediæval life, and grow constantly in wealth, which brings about royal or lay interference in their elections, and grave disorders in their administration. In time the election of the bishop falls in theory to the cathedral chapter or canons; the archdeacon gives way to the vicar general, more dependent on the bishop; auxiliary bishops are multiplied. The pope is frequently appealed to for justice in both orders. Since the pseudo-Isidoran decretals, his recognized power is more frequently applied, especially in the cases of bishops, henceforth less subject to the provincial council. According as the nations are unified, the reins of church government are drawn closer, and new details of it fall under the immediate authority of the pope. The election of the pope is gradually confined to the cardinals, who take on a new importance with the increase of the prerogatives of the Roman See. The canon law, the outcome chiefly of Scripture, ancient custom, decrees of councils and decisions of popes, is logically formulated in the twelfth and codified in the thirteenth century.

The Cloister of Lindisfarne in Northumbria.

The worship of the Church is marked in the West by the almost general adoption of the Roman liturgy, the development of the church-song, Gregorian and figured, and the introduction of the organ. The Eucharist is received under the one species of bread; its elevation remains as a protest against the heresy of Berengarius. The churches gradually give up the Romanesque to adopt the freer and more ambitious Gothic. Sculpture especially flourishes, and miniature, while much skill is shown in all the minor arts, encouraged especially by church plate and church furniture. The feasts multiply, both general and local, until they consume a great part of the year. The penitential discipline is variously modified; censures of many kinds, interdicts, and excommunications are frequent, often invoked in the interest of the oppressed, or to curb absolutism. Pilgrimages to Rome, Jerusalem, or Compostello are frequent. In the increasing veneration of saints, their canonization passes from the bishops to the pope. The monastic life in Europe soon counts more clerics than laymen,—hence the care of souls, missionary work. (1) The Benedictine order overruns Europe, and brings the soil into cultivation, (2) instructs the peasantry, keeps alive the arts of reading and writing, a love of literature and of science. In

time its great wealth, the intrusion of lay abbots, the familiarity of the great, bring about disorders and decay. The reforms of Cluny (910-1048) Citeaux, the Chartreuse, and similar attempts, restore it to esteem; but the democratic spirit of the thirteenth century, and the opposition to luxury and to excessive wealth, bring forth the Mendicant Orders, in which not only the individual but the corporation is considered as poor. What the monasteries had slowly gained by a gradual exemption from the bishops was gained from the beginning by the Mendicant Orders through direct subjection to the pope. The ecclesiastical celibacy, constantly insisted on as the rule by councils and popes, was not always strictly observed; but this abuse was vigorously opposed by Gregory VII., who succeeded, with some exceptions, in compelling its observance throughout Europe.

The ancient paganism did not die out too rapidly. The "judgments of God," ordeals, duels, etc., lived on among the Teutonic Christians, but were formally disavowed by Innocent III. The Word of God was assiduously preached, as a rule. (3) The "Peace of God" did much to diminish private warfare, that bane of the Middle Ages. The typical examples of countless holy lives, of such men as St. Bernard, St. Dunstan, St. Bruno, St. Malachy, did much to counteract the passions and lawlessness of the time. The charitable establishments were exceedingly numerous; the highest charity, that of education, became in time the most common form of beneficence, as seen in the monastery and grammar schools and the universities. In the early Middle Ages the education of the rural clergy was very inferior, both in the East and West. Men like Bede and Alcuin, or Sedulius Scotus and Photius, were very rare. But the monastic and episcopal schools were never closed. (4) From them issued the corporations of students that made the universities; from them came the first scholastics, the great mystical writers, and later on the great theologians of the thirteenth century.

9. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

(1) **Idea of the Monastic Life.**—The impulse which led men to join it was in the desire to overcome the world, and to make themselves ready for immortal experiences. Their daily life kept before them the eternity for which they were preparing. The earth was to perish, and the things of the earth to be burned and to vanish. . . . . A century hence, what would it matter to any man whether he had to spend a few years in a palace or in a hut; had eaten dainties and slept in state, or had eaten coarse food and slept on the hard pallet of the monk?—*Storrs, "Life of St. Bernard," p. 236.*

(2) **The Benedictines and the Soil of Europe.**—The extraordinary benefit which they conferred on society by colonizing waste places—places chosen *because* they were waste and solitary, and such as could be reclaimed only by the incessant labors of those who were willing to work hard and live hard—lands often given because they were not worth keeping—lands, which, for a long while, left their cultivators half starved, and dependent on the charity of those who admired what we must too often call a fanatical(!) zeal—even the extraordinary benefit, I say, which they conferred on mankind by thus clearing and cultivating, was small in comparison with the advantages derived from them by society, after they had become large proprietors, landlords with more benevolence, and farmers with more intelligence and capital, than any others.—*Maitland, "The Dark Ages," p. 431.*

(3) **The Church as Teacher of Religion.**—The Primers which were in the hands of every educated man and woman in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, answered to no small extent to our present book of Common Prayer. They contained the offices said daily in the Church, the seven penitential psalms, the fifteen gradual psalms, the litany, and the offices for the departed, as well as the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the ten commandments, and the seven deadly sins. Thus the Church, in the Middle Ages, teaching her children either orally or by book, put them in possession of the seed plot from which might grow the fairest forms of devotional life. By the creeds she taught them the faith. In Holy Scripture she pointed them to the true basis of all meditation. By the commandments and the list of the seven deadly sins, she led them to self-examination and penitence. By her public offices she taught them due harmony of praise, of intercession, and of prayer. Finally, in the daily Eucharist she brought them to renewed self-consecration in the fulness of corporate worship. Mediæval religion, with all its faults, set before every man a definite scheme of Christian life and duty, and showed him how he might accomplish it.—*Wakeman, "An Introduction to the History of the Church of England" (1897), p. 184.*

(4) **The Function of Mediæval Latin.**—Just think now what this common familiarity with mediæval Latin implies. It implies almost as ready a hold on all the great works of antiquity as the power of reading English at the present day implies with respect to our national classics. . . . This facility of learning was limited only by the scarcity of books; a very fatal limitation, but not half so fatal as the common fault of these days when there are so many more books than there are readers with a will to read them.—*Bishop Stubbs, "Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediæval and Modern History," p. 176.*

10. THE GREEK SCHISM AND THE RENAISSANCE.

The roots of the Greek Schism are old, and spring partly from the character of Greeks and Latins, partly from historical events. The chief reason was the ambition of the bishops of Constantinople and the pride of the clergy of the New Rome, haughty and powerful men, who looked down on the Latin West as wanting in culture and refinement. The jealousy of the emperors, often helpless before the Roman bishops, the growing affection of the Italian people for the atter, the absence of all expansion for the Greek, with the narrow, hostile anti-Latin spirit that this brought on, the reminiscences of the barbarian blood in the Western nations, the survival of pure Roman imperialism, the Iconoclastic struggles, were so many predisposing causes to a separation of the churches. It came between 857 and 1054. In the former year began the long series of events which brought about the first formal conflict between the two churches. The rightful patriarch of Constantinople, Ignatius, was deposed by the Emperor, and Photius, a learned but ambitious and wily layman, put in his place. Rome sustained Ignatius, deposition and counter-deposition took place. The eighth ecumenical council (869-870) was held at Constantinople against Photius, but its action was reversed ten years later. In the end Ignatius died as patriarch, but Photius was unanimously agreed on as his successor. Both parties were inimical to the West in the matter of the Bulgarians, whose incorporation in the patriarchate of Constantinople was strongly opposed by Rome. Photius furnished the literary and theological weapons, and formulated the various objections since urged by the Schismatic Greeks —the insertion of the *Filioque* in the creed, the use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist, the celibacy of the clergy, the fasting on Saturday, the rejection of the Greek confirmation by priests, the belief in purgatory. Photius died in 912, but the temporary reconciliation was only on the surface. (1) The peace was broken by harsh controversies in the middle of the eleventh century, which ended in the excommunication by Leo IX. of the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Caerularius (1054). The crusades did not help the later attempts at union, especially the fourth crusade, which ended in the capture of Constantinople and the establishment of a temporary Latin empire on the Bosphorus (1204-1270). The fear of the Ottoman and the hope of Western help brought about a temporary submission of the Greeks at Florence (1439), but this formal act never met with the acceptance of the ignorant and embittered clergy and people. Long before the fall of Constantinople (1453) it was a dead letter. Since that event the schism has been final and complete. (2) The pope did well in trying to close the Greek schism, for the first rent of another was already visible. The passionate cultivation of the Greek and Latin classics in the fifteenth century, aided

Metal Book-Cover of a Lexicon, Thirteenth Century.

by many discoveries, by the influx into Italy of exiled Greeks, the art of printing, a general awakening of the mind, and extraordinary commercial prosperity, turned men gradually to the false but specious philosophy of paganism, to scepticism, and epicureanism. In vain did the Christian humanists try to stem the tide. (3) The unhappy conflict of the two great powers had shattered the imperial ideal, and left the Church greatly in need of a thorough reform. Familiarity with sacred things, the long absence of the pope from Rome and the consequent decay of its symbolic influence, the bitter internal feuds, the degeneration of theological training and style, had left the ecclesiastical forces unequal to the responsibilities thrust upon them. The fine arts claimed the attention of all that was noble, wealthy and cultured; on all sides the senses were allowed a satisfaction that the severer Middle Ages abhorred as the gate of sin. Scripture, painting, architecture, music, flourished for the first time, independent and grandiose, with all the ineffable grace of antiquity, but with a something romantic and individual, in which a secular experience betrayed itself. The control of the old, stiff conventionalism in art was gone. New worlds of thought and matter were swinging within the ken of mankind. The European man had long been a member of two great ideal societies; he would now be himself the measure of all his capacities, the scope of all his energies. He little suspected that when he had closed this new orbit of activity, he would still be face to face with the mighty verities, the adamantine principles of Christianity, no less than his Catholic brethren of the Middle Ages.

10. THE GREEK SCHISM AND THE RENAISSANCE.

(1) **The Share of Photius in the Greek Schism.**—The influence of Photius has never ceased to make itself felt. Since his days discipline, theology, and ecclesiastical life among the Greeks have moved in ever deepening antithesis to the Latins. The work of Photius entered into the very marrow of the Greek Church. He was the first to affix the stigma of heresy to the Latins; his doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit was quietly handed down during the tenth century; his polemical circular borrowed a new life from the use made of it by Caerularius, who enriched it with new causes of complaint. In the twelfth century his writings became still more popular; he is cited as an authority; the points of difference are multiplied; the primacy of Rome attacked with increasing bitterness, and an ever-deepening hate is roused against "the heretical West." Henceforth few attempted to defend the cause of union, and even these did so with many restrictions. The crusades and their consequences, the Latin empire of Constantinople, the violence of Western princes, deepened still more the chasm, and fed the savage fanaticism of the clergy, the monks, and the people. In vain did the imperial policy attempt to set a limit to this movement. The intellectual author of the schism was canonized, deified. The doctrines and system of Photius won so great an influence that no human might and strength sufficed to check them.—*Cardinal Hergenenræther," Photius," Vol. III, p. 876.*

(2) **Rome and the Oriental Churches.**—Among the many means by which the popes have endeavored to heal this great schism, or to prevent a prescription, may be enumerated the following: the preservation of Oriental rites intact, the sending of missionaries to invite the schismatics to return, the frequent publication of solemn invitations of bulls, encyclicals, etc., the invitation to Oriental prelates to take part in the general councils, the occasional incorporation into the Roman Church of Oriental communities, special epistles to the Oriental clergy, the publication of suitable literature, the establishment at Rome of special commissions for Oriental religious matters, the acknowledgment of the Oriental rite whenever the pope celebrates a pontifical mass as Head of the Church, the habit of naming a patriarch of Constantinople, and the similar one of naming bishops for the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.—*Pitzipios, "L'Église Orientale," Bk. IV, p. 85.*

(3) **The Religious German Humanism.**—The period of German Reform which began in the middle of the fifteenth century, produced the most splendid results. It was a time when culture penetrated to all classes of society, spreading its ramifications deep and wide, a time of extraordinary activity in art and learning. By catechetical teaching, by sermons, by the translations of the Holy Scriptures, by instructional and devotional publication of all sorts, religious knowledge was zealously diffused, and the development of religious life abundantly fostered. In the lower elementary schools and the advanced middle schools, a sound basis of popular education was established; the universities attained a height of excellence and distinction undreamt of before, and became the burning centers of all intellectual activity. And more even than learning, art was seen to blossom and develop on the soil of national and religious life, beautifying all departments of life, public and private, secular and ecclesiastical, in the worthiest manner, while in its many grand and comprehensive works, inspired by the then prevailing sense of Christian brotherhood, it manifested the real core of the German genius and character.—*Janssen, "History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages," Vol. I, p. 283 (English translation).*

11. THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

The series of events by which the Western Church was definitively rent in twain is well known. In 1517, apropos of the preaching of indulgences by Tetzel, Luther opposed to him ninety-five theses. As a result of the discussion that followed Luther was excommunicated in the spring of 1520 by the Bull "Exsurge Domine," to which he replied by burning the bull and the books of the canon law at Wittenberg. A series of violent pamphlets from his pen roused all Germany. (1) Some earnest reformers, many humanists, and all the numerous enemies of Rome, with idle and dissolute monks, gathered about this new force. The imperial power was too weak to carry out the directions of Rome; the diets were divided; passion, self-interest, a long-seething hatred of Rome and jealousy of the empire, won to Luther several princes, prominent among whom were Frederick, the elector of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse. They were the nucleus of a league of princes and cities, whose adherents received the name of Protestants at the diet of Spiers in 1529. War with France, and the threatening attitude of the Turk, made these princes necessary to the emperor, and the league of Smalkald in 1531 bound them definitely to the defense of Luther and his teachings. Conferences, diets and colloquia were held in great number, but the principles at stake and the immediate gains were too serious to be given up except at the point of the sword. The battle of Mühlberg (1547) was a momentary ray of hope in that direction, but the external occupations of the emperor forbade any utilization of victory. The treaty of Passau (1552) and the peace of Augsburg (1555), nine years after the death of Luther (1546), consecrated temporarily the new religious situation, in Germany at least, until the Thirty Years' war and the Treaty of Westphalia (1618-1648), when it was finally adopted, despite the protest of Pope Urban VIII. While the Reformation was, in principle, one and the same in all the lands of Europe—the rejection of the central authority—its immediate motives and methods differed much in every country. No doubt there were here and there ardent and noble, but misled, men, who saw in it the restoration of Christian freedom; they were usually the dupes of worldly and ambitious persons, who saw preferment, power and wealth in the new movement. (2) Few, if any, of the princes of Germany were moved by religious principle—all were led by avarice or love of dominion. Without their aid the Reformation would have been stifled in the bud. In England it was brought about by the lust of Henry VIII. and the unprincipled servility of men like Cranmer. (3) In France and Italy, Spain, Ireland, and a large part of the Netherlands, it made little or no headway, if we except the Huguenot movement. Nor was it popular in the Northern king-

Martin Luther.

Henry VIII. of England.

doms—the people were in reality robbed of their faith before they quite knew what had happened, and the regalist principles nurtured by the reformers precluded any possibility of resistance; for safety's sake they enslaved the once free Church to the state, a fact that alone explains the rapid spread of Protestantism, by which the hardly-won independence of the Church was lost in a generation, and even orthodox Catholicism driven into unsatisfactory relations and conditions that yet hamper its action. Other causes of the rapid spread of Protestantism were the immense spiritual discontent that everywhere prevailed, and made itself felt in national, conciliar and individual complaints and protests. Every one recognized the need of a reformation "in the head and in the members," i. e., at Rome and throughout Christendom; but in fact the ancient abuses were preserved, until not a reformation but a revolution broke out that left scarcely a vestige of the past. The great offices in the Church were given to nobles; the monasteries were largely exempt from the bishops' jurisdiction; venality, corruption and simony prevailed in very high places; a few great Italian families exercised an undue influence over the papacy; despair of any positive efficient action was setting in, that the delay of the Council of Trent and the sterility of earlier councils confirmed. Between the Church and the governments there was dislike or suspicion, partly the result of the long quarrel with the empire. The love of novelty was in the air, and the new catchwords were attractive—liberty of thought, freedom of the Christian man, a general priesthood. The prince or city was, unconsciously perhaps, drawn by avarice. The immoral priest or monk was content to cast away his obligations. The severe yoke of fasting, confession, etc., was no longer to be borne. Alms deeds and other good works could be abandoned for the simple act of faith by which alone man was made just and his redemption certain. A worldly careless episcopate, a clergy often degenerate or ignorant, were incapable of resisting; especially when popular preachers, reckless of truth or moderation, playing on every weakness of the people, backed up by the local authorities, appeared in great numbers. The people were flattered by communion under both species, by the use of the vernacular in the liturgy, and by the indiscriminate Bible reading,—a new fetich as bad as any denounced by the reformers. To this must be added the jealous opposition of France against the Hapsburgs, and the unjust violence used against Catholics by the princes and municipalities that adopted the new religion.

Erasmus, a Dutch scholar, who favored reform without dismemberment of the Roman Catholic Church.

Philip Melancthon, a German scholar, and collaborator with Luther.

For a while it seemed as if all the bonds of social order were broken; the reformers themselves stood aghast at the seething flood they had let loose. Typical in every way was the experience of the noble city of Muenster in Westphalia, where the Peasants' War, and the subsequent atrocities of the Anabaptists, opened men's eyes to the possibilities of certain of Luther's doctrines that he now repudiated, leaving the wretched peasants to their fate. The volumes of Dœllinger and Janssen abound with the detail evidence of the decay of social and academic life that was the first fruits of the Reformation. The internal divisions of the German people had now another and deeper fountain, and they did not cease to grow for a hundred years until, in the Thirty Years' War, the people reaped the dread harvest that had been sown a century before, and found themselves the bond-slaves of little absolutistic dynasties, where once they had enjoyed the sturdy, healthy freedom of Catholic mediæval life, out of which had come their

wonderful architecture and all the masterpieces of their art. In England the dissolution of the monasteries inaugurated a social revolution, by precipitating on the state the problem of modern pauperism. (4)

11. THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

(1) **The Personalities of Luther.**—The manner in which he treats the persons of his enemies is positively unexampled. We never meet in him that sorrowing love which hates only the error and tries to win over the erring person; on the contrary, his weapons are contemptuous scorn, violence, mockery and an overwhelming rush of invective, of personally offensive epithets—at times, even, of the most vile and common character. They flow from his pen as a stream from some inexhaustible spring. It is thoroughly false that in these matters Luther was no worse than his time. Whoever is acquainted with the contemporary and the immediately earlier literature knows that the contrary is true. Indeed, Luther's writings caused a universal astonishment by their intense personalism. Those who were not his immediate followers expressed their surprise, reproved him sharply, or called attention to the dangerous consequences of these uncontrolled attacks. But his disciples consoled themselves by speaking of the "heroic spirit" of the man, to which no one dared to prescribe either limit or measure.

They often claimed for him a sort of an inspiration, and freedom from the observance of the ordinary laws of morality, saying that what would be immoral and reproachable in others was permissible in him.—*Dœllinger, "Luther," p. 59.*

Of Luther, the reformer Ulrich Zasius said:

Luther has shamelessly turned the entire Scripture of the Old and New Testament, from the first chapter of Genesis to the very last words, into a series of threats and maledictions against the pope, bishops and priests, as though through all these long centuries God had no other business on hand except to thunder against priests. This conduct of Luther has begotten enmity, quarrels, factions, sects, hatefulness and murder.—*Janssen, "History of the German People," Vol. II, p. 135.*

(2) **The Reformers and Ecclesiastical Property.**—Luther drew up for the use of those who coveted their neighbors' goods a code consisting of eight articles, in which legal theft became a commandment of God. . . .

The princes were not mentioned in this plan of division; but, as Luther in his Argyrophylax said to them, "In a short while you will see what tons of gold are concealed in the monasteries," threatening the vengeance of heaven if they did not seize on them, the princes considered themselves authorized to regulate the partition of the booty.

They thoroughly comprehended the lion's share; from compassion they gave to the obstinate monks some clothing that they might beg on the highway—a little money to those that had been obedient to Luther, and by singular generosity the sacred vessels of the secular monasteries to the curate of the parish, if he consented to embrace Lutheranism; all the rest went to their mistresses and courtiers; and when they were as greedy as the landgrave of Hesse they kept to themselves the sacerdotal robes, tapestries and vessels of the sanctuary.—*Audin, "Life of Luther," Vol. II, p. 189.*

(3) **Variations of the English Reformers.**—Thus indeed, this reign of reformation was one of plunder, wretchedness and disgrace. Three times the form of the new worship was changed: and yet those who adhered to the old worship or went beyond the new were punished with the utmost severity. The nation became every day more and more despised abroad, and more and more distracted and miserable at home.

The Church, "as by law established," arose, and was enforced under two protectors or ministers, both of whom deservedly suffered death as traitors. Its principal author (Cranmer) was a man who had sent both Protestants and Catholics to the stake, who had burned people for adhering to the pope, others for not believing in Transubstantiation, others for believing in it, and who now burned others for disbelieving in it for reasons different from his own. A man who openly professed to disbelieve in that, for not believing in which he had burned many of his fellow creatures, and who after this most solemnly declared that his own belief was that of those very persons! As this church "by the law established" advanced, all the remains of Christian charity vanished before it. The indigent, whom the Catholic Church had so tenderly gathered under her wing, were now, merely for asking for alms, branded with red-hot irons, though no provision was made to prevent them from perishing with hunger and cold. And England, so long famed as the land of hospitality, generosity, ease, plenty and security to persons and property, became under a Protestant church the scene of repulsive selfishness, of pack-house toil, of pinching want, of rapacity, plunder, tyranny, that made the very name of law and justice a mockery.—*Cobbett, "The History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland." 1896, p. 179.*

(4) **Decay of Schools after the Reformation.**—Under the popes not a child could escape the devil's broad nets, barring a rare wonder, so many monasteries and schools were there, but now that the priests are gone good studies are packed off with them. . . . When I was a child there was a proverb that it was no less an evil to neglect a student than to mislead a virgin. . . . This was said to frighten the teachers.—*Martin Luther in 1524, "Complete Works," (Frankfort) XXII, pp. 172-195, cited in Janssen (l. c.) VII, p. 11.*

The devil has misled the people into the belief that schooling is useless since the exit of the monks, nuns and priests. . . . As long as the people were caught in the abominations of the papacy, every purse was open for churches and schools, and the doors of these latter were widespread for the free reception of children who could almost be forced to receive the expensive training given within their walls.—*Luther in a Sermon of 1530 (Ibid.)*

In the "darkness of the papacy," wrote Conrad Porta of Eisleben, toward the end of the sixteenth century, "every one from the highest to the lowest, even servants and day-laborers, contributed to churches and schools; but now, in the clear light of the gospel, even the rich grow impatient, if ever so little be asked, even for the repairing and maintenance of those on hand."—*Jannsen (l. c., p. 73.*

12. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

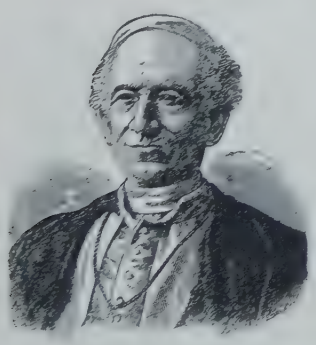
The lifetime of Luther was the darkest hour in the history of the Roman Church. It seemed as if faith, authority, discipline, the entire Catholic system of life and thought, consecrated by a thousand years of universal affectionate acceptance, had gone down in one great storm. Naturally men looked at once to the historic remedy, a general council. After much disagreement as to what it should first treat—reform or doctrine, and where it should be held—in Germany or Italy, and who should be invited, it met at Trent in 1542. Interrupted frequently, transferred for a while to Bologna, it held, through four pontificates twenty-five sessions, and closed in 1563 its memorable and stormy career. It did not accomplish all that pope, emperor, and the people expected of it; war, passion, numberless interests and jealousies stood in the way—yet it saved Catholicism. It settled formally for the Catholic conscience all that Luther had denied or doubted—the sources and the criteria of faith, the office of the Church in the interpretation of Scripture, the nature of original sin and justification, the sacerdotal and sacramental systems, the authority of the Roman Church. It was a tangible proof that Christ lived and governed; that the organism of its society, though rudely shaken, was still functioning. (1) A severer line of popes came on the scene—Pius V., Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Clement VIII. Henceforth bishops reside in their dioceses, attend to the education of their clergy, hold annual synods, visit Rome regularly, and report in detail as to Catholic life and sentiment. There are yet human weaknesses in the central government, nepotism for instance, but they yield to publicity and criticism—good and great popes are the rule. There is not in all history such a spectacle of sustained wisdom and morality as the papacy of the last three centuries. The monastic life is thoroughly reformed—St. Maur and La Trappe make up for much decay and relaxation in the Benedictines. The Jesuits enter upon the scene—an army of preachers, teachers, missionaries, the apostles of that doctrine whose rejection was the only principle of Protestant unity—the papal supremacy. The education of the clergy, the formation of Christian youth, the care of the sick, the ministry of the pest and the battle-field have each canonized saints at the head of their annals. The Holy Spirit quickened every force in the vast system of Catholicism; while yet its existence seemed in doubt, new millions were being won as the raw material for another conquest of faith. India, Japan, China, the islands of the sea, a new world across the Atlantic, made up the losses of Germany and England, that yet the old Church never ceased to mourn, and to call back to former unity; nor did her call go unechoed, even in the darkest days. Through annual synods and provincial councils the episcopal action was again felt in every parish; the letter and the spirit of the decrees of Trent were made operative. Bishops like St. Francis of Sales, Otto von Truchsess and Julius von Mespellbrunn were not uncommon. The Roman Church again chose for cardinals the most

Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish soldier, later a prelate, and (1541) first general of the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits.

St. Francis Xavier, a Spanish Jesuit and missionary, called "the Apostle to the Indies."

learned and experienced men: many of them were models of laborious Christian life. The example of St. Charles Borromeo roused the clergy of all Catholic Europe and inaugurated practical reforms and improvements that are yet working in Catholicism. The remaining wealth of the Church was used for better purposes. Popes no longer squandered revenue on Greek manuscripts and rare coins; colleges, academies, seminaries, universities, attracted ecclesiastical wealth. The necessities of polemics created an incredible development and realignment of the ecclesiastical sciences; one after the other, dogma, moral, canon law, history, assert each its distinctive value and use. The original authorities are collected, the fathers are reprinted with critical care, the weak spots of Catholic apology noted and strengthened, the lives of the saints collected, sifted, studied critically. The old books of the Church service are re-examined and set in better order, the breviary, the missal, and the martyrology. The law books of the Church are corrected and adjusted to actual needs; Roman habit does not permit a quasi-impious abolition of ancient law, but rescript and constitution, committee-decisions, and the like, create such remedial legislation as is needed, according to time and country. The poets of Catholicism sing again in Italy and Spain; the solemn music of the ancient Church comes back, transfigured, from the soul of Palestrina. An architecture, somewhat over-laden, but adapted to a religion in which sacrifice, preaching and pomp are essentially public and popular, is created, chiefly by the new institutes and congregations. Preaching and catechetical instruction are again an essential item in the daily life of the priest; admirable manuals, like the Catechism of the Council of Trent and the Catechism of Blessed Peter Canisius, are in every cleric's hand; his stock of learning is larger and of better quality than before the Reformation. Controversies that would once have led to heresy or schism could now rage almost unchecked, owing to the work of the Council of Trent and the development of a critico-historical spirit among theologians. At Rome, Louvain, Douai, Paris, in the schools of Belgium, Spain and Germany, arose a multitude of learned men in every branch of ecclesiastical science, whose works are yet the scientific foundation of modern Catholicism,—Baronius, Bellarmine, Petavius, Suarez, Antonio Agostino, Bollandus, Papebroch, Lessius, Richard Simon, Stapleton, Du Perron, the theologians of Salamanca and Alcalà. Bossuet reviewed with judicial calm and philosophic method the mighty revolution that rent Europe. (2) The immense mass of detail administration of the universal Church was apportioned among permanent commissions, known as the Roman Congregations; the bishops again resumed responsible control over the monastic and religious houses by delegation of the Holy See; the scandals connected with benefices were extinguished; the appeals to Rome in first instance forbidden. In the common danger the depths of the Catholic heart were touched, and after the Council of Trent all Catholic forces rallied round the sign and bond of unity, the Roman Church. (3) Religious persecution bred a kindlier feeling, that the political

Jacques Bossuet, 1627-1704.



Pope Leo XIII.

and dynastic wars of the time did not destroy. An army of saints was the practical answer to the Reformation, and among them some of the rarest flowers of Catholic mysticism, like St. Theresa and St. Rose of Lima. If there had been gross neglect and criminal obstinacy in the matter of reform before the revolution of Luther, there has been since then a marvelous awakening of the Catholic conscience. If before that event the spiritual and political interests were fatally ingrown with one another, since then the Church has developed a keen and accurate sense of her essential adaptability to all forms of government, and of the sublime spiritual character of her vocation in human society.

12. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

(1) **Von Ranke on the Council of Trent.**—The council that had been so vehemently demanded, and so long evaded, that had been twice dissolved, had been shaken by so many political storms, and whose third convocation had even been beset with danger, closed amid the general harmony of the Catholic world. It may be readily understood how the prelates, as they met together for the last time on the 4th of December, 1563, were all emotion and joy. Even those who had hitherto been antagonists congratulated each

Cardinal James Gibbons.

other, and tears were seen to start into the eyes of many of those aged men. . . . The faithful were again subjected to the uncompromising discipline of the Church, and in urgent cases to the sword of excommunication. Seminaries were founded where young ecclesiastics were carefully brought up under strict discipline and in the fear of God. The parishes were regulated anew, the administration of the sacraments and preaching subjected to fixed ordinances, and the co-operation of the regular clergy subjected to determined laws. The bishops were held rigidly to the duties of their office, especially to the superintendence of the clergy, according to their various grades of consecration. It was a regulation attended with weighty results, that the bishops solemnly bound themselves by a special confession of faith, signed and sworn to by them, to observance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and to submissiveness to the pope.—*Von Ranke, "A History of the Popes, their Church and State, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," Bk. III, p. 91.*

(2) **Bossuet as a Historian of Protestantism.**—From this separate internal analysis the "History of the Variations of Protestantism" is seen to be the result of extensive reading of the original authorities, and of exact research, a labor that may easily have consumed four years. Whoever will place himself in the same circumstances, with the intention of doing what Bossuet did, will at once see that the latter has collected almost all available information and has judiciously sifted his materials, among which are certain pieces more rare and useful than one would have suspected. As to his method, there is in it a severity, a prudence, a minute and scrupulous carefulness which no one would, at first blush, attribute to an oratorical and synthetic character. In formulating his conclusions he dares at times to differ from the views commonly held in his day; modern science, with its wider range and its surer method, has sustained him.—*Rebellian, "Bossuet Historien du Protestantisme" (1891), p. 520.*

(3) **The Unity and Organization of Catholicism.**—As the Catholics in zeal and union had a great advantage over the Protestants, so they had also an infinitely superior organization. In truth, Protestantism, for aggressive purposes, had no organization at all. The Reformed Churches were mere national churches. The Church of England existed for England alone. It was an institution as purely local as the Court of Common Pleas, and was utterly without any machinery for foreign operation. The Church of Scotland, in the same manner, existed for Scotland alone. The operations of the Catholic Church, on the contrary, took in the whole world. Nobody at Lambeth or at Edinburgh troubled himself about what was doing in Poland or Bavaria. But Cracow and Munich were at Rome objects of as much interest as the purlieus of St. John Lateran. Our island, at the head of the Protestant interest, did not send out a single missionary or a single instructor to the scene of the great spiritual war. Not a single seminary was established here for the purpose of furnishing such a supply to foreign countries. On the other hand, Germany, Hungary, and Poland were filled with able and active Catholic emissaries of Spanish or Italian birth; and colleges for the instruction of the northern youth were founded at Rome. The spiritual force of Protestantism was a mere local militia, which might be useful in case of an invasion, but could not be sent abroad and could therefore make no conquests. Rome had such a local militia, but she had also a force disposable at a moment's notice for foreign service, however dangerous and disagreeable. If it was

thought at headquarters that a Jesuit at Palermo was qualified by his talents and his character to withstand the Reformers in Lithuania, the order was instantly given and instantly obeyed. In a month, the faithful servant of the Church was preaching, catechising, confessing beyond the Niemen.—*Macaulay, "Essay on Von Ranke's History of the Popes," Vol. II, p. 486.*

SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **CONVERSION OF BARBARIAN EUROPE.**—Franks, Burgundians, Anglo-Saxons, Saxons, Danes, Swedes and Northmen. The Slav world, Moravia, Bohemia, Poland, Russia. Irish and Anglo-Saxon missions to the mainland of Europe. Social results. Source of missionary unity.
8. **THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.**—Notion of the Holy Roman Empire, Causes of its weakness, Causes of Conflict with the See of Rome, Position of Italian and Roman nobles, Attitude of Constantinople.
9. **THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.**—Diversified character of religious development, Centers of mediæval religious life, the bishop, the abbey, the cardinal, the pope, the canon law, the Roman liturgy and language, the Benedictines, Celibacy of clergy, personal example, Charity, Education.
10. **GREEK SCHISM AND THE RENAISSANCE.**—Causes of the Greek Schism, When consummated, Efforts to close it, Chief characteristic of the Renaissance, The eve of the Reformation.
11. **THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.**—The revolt of Martin Luther, the League of Smalkald, The Peace of Augsburg. Central principle of the Reformation, Causes of its success, The rapid decay of social and academic life.
12. **THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.**—The Council of Trent, Its doctrinal and disciplinary measures, It stems the Reformation, Awakens dormant energies, A "New Life" in the Roman Catholic Church, Survival of the Counter-Reformation.

QUESTIONS.

7. *Who were the principal missionaries among the Northern barbarians? Among the Oriental? What were the results of the battles of Xeres de la Frontera and Poitiers? Relate some workings of Christianity on private character of converts, on public life. What was the office of the Church? Give some shadows of the later missionary activities?*
8. *What did the coronation of Charlemagne mean? Why did his successor fail to live up to his ideal? Describe some causes of the imperial weakness. What did the battle of Lech mean? What was Cluny? What was at stake in the conflict concerning investitures? What causes brought about the decay of the Holy Roman Empire?*
9. *Around what institutions did the religious life of the Middle Ages develop? What was the Canon law, the Roman Liturgy? Describe the influence of the Benedictines? What remnants of ancient paganism survived, and why? Who maintained a literature and a system of education?*
10. *What causes divided the Greek and Latin Churches? Who was Photius? What was his share in the work? Michael Caerularius? What was done at the Council of Florence? What was the Renaissance? Describe its relations to the Reformation.*
11. *What were the religious circumstances of the Reformation? The political? What was the battle of Mühlberg? The peace of Augsburg? What was the internal condition of Roman Catholicism? What results followed the Reformation? Its economic consequences in England?*
12. *Why was the Council of Trent assembled? What delayed it? What were its consequences? What was the missionary activity of the Roman Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? What was the development of ecclesiastical science, law, art, music? What was the increase of homiletic and catechetical activity? What signal evidence is there of a general awakening of the Catholic conscience and spirit?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The share of Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries in the literary renaissance under Charlemagne.*
2. *The polemical literature of the conflict concerning investitures.*
3. *Episcopal elections in the Middle Ages.*
4. *The character of Niccolo Macchiavelli.*
5. *Luther's principle of justification by faith alone.*
6. *The lives of Charles and Frederic Borromeo.*

Wyclif's Church at Lutterworth. Drawn by Walt. M. De Kalb.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BY

RT. REV. JOHN F. HURST, LL.D., Chancellor of The American University, Washington, D.C

13. THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH, A.D. 30-101.

The visible Church consists of the organized believers in Christ and the followers of his life. In secular history the spiritual forces lie largely in the background, but in the life of the Church they have come out boldly into the foreground.

Christ immediately before his ascension commanded his disciples to remain in Jerusalem until they should be endued with power from on high. Without the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost there would have been no impulsive power in Christianity. The organization of the Church took place immediately after the remarkable scenes at Pentecost. Orders of ministers and lay members were established for the preaching of the gospel, the care of the needy, and the building up of the body of believers. The most simple arrangements were made for government, as the believers were as yet but few and confined to a narrow territory. The more elaborate polity was left for the future needs of the Church.

The practical life of the Christians was at once simple and beautiful. It was a type of all the essential qualities which Christ had taught as requisite for pure living and final salvation. Simplicity of faith and intense brotherly love had their practical demonstration in the equal distribution of temporal possessions. The community of goods did not arise from a divine command, but was merely the natural effect of that broad charity which sprang from the love of Christ and the possession of the Spirit. The real majesty of the early Church lay in its spontaneous quality. To crown all, there was a boundless fervor in communicating the gospel. The whole world seemed small. What the apostles had felt and known was now their sole passion. Both the apostle and the unlettered believer, each in his own best way, preached the new life in Christ, that all men might share its sacrifice here and its holy joy hereafter. (1)

In the Acts of the Apostles we have the chief source of information concerning the fields of work of the different apostles. The Epistles of Paul and his associates supply missing links in that more formal history. To these may be added the somewhat vague statements of writers from the second century to the fourth, many of which rest on the oral traditions of the early Church.

Peter represented the Jewish type of Christianity. He was slow to learn that

Christianity was designed for all men. He made an evangelistic tour through portions of Asia Minor. At the time of writing his first Epistle he was in Babylon, where there was a large Jewish population. He confined his labors principally to the East.

Paul towers far above all the apostles in the majesty of his character, the scope of his genius, the depth of his learning and the sublime quality of his labors. His call was to the Gentiles. He made three great missionary tours through Asia Minor and Southeastern Europe. (2)

John represented the mediating element between Judaism and paganism. The scenes of his labor seem to have been, for the first twenty years after Pentecost, chiefly in Palestine; later in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates; then at Jerusalem, whence on the capture of that city by Titus he fled to Ephesus. His residence here was intermitted by his exile to the island of Patmos. He died in Ephesus about A.D. 98, when about one hundred years old.

The labors of the other apostles were widely bestowed. James the Elder suffered martyrdom in Jerusalem about A.D. 44. James, our Lord's brother, preached in Jerusalem, and finally died there a martyr. It was believed that Philip labored in Phrygia; Simon Zelotes, in Egypt and the neighboring African coast; Thomas, in India; Andrew, in Scythia, Asia Minor, Thrace and Greece; Matthias, in Ethiopia; Judas, called Lebbæus or Thaddeus, in Persia and Bartholomew, in Lycaonia, Armenia and India.

13. THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

(1) **The Propagation of Christianity.**—The great highways by which the knowledge of the gospel was to be spread abroad had already been opened by the intercourse of nations. The easy means of intercommunication within the vast Roman empire; the close relation which the Jews dispersed throughout all lands kept up with those at Jerusalem; the way in which all the Roman dominions had their common centre in the great capital of the world; the connection of the provinces with their metropolitan towns, and of the larger portions of the empire with the more considerable cities, were all circumstances favorable to this end. Such cities as Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth were the centres of a wide commercial, political and literary correspondence; and on this account became also the principal seats for the propagation of the gospel, and the ones in which the first preachers tarried longest. That commercial intercourse which from the earliest times had served, not merely for the barter of worldly goods, but also for the exchange of the nobler treasures of mind, was now to be used as a channel for the diffusion of the highest spiritual blessings.

As a general rule, Christianity first gained ground in the cities; for, as it was needful above all to obtain fixed seats for the propagation of the gospel, its first preachers, passing rapidly over the country, published the glad tidings first of all in the cities, from which it might afterwards be easily diffused through the country by native teachers. On the other hand, in the country they were likely to encounter greater obstacles owing to the entire rudeness, the blind superstition, and the heathen fanaticism of the people, as well as from their own ignorance in some cases of the old provincial dialects; while in the towns, for the most part, they could make themselves sufficiently well understood by using the Greek or the Latin language. Yet we know from Pliny's report to the Emperor Trajan, no less than from the account given by the Roman Bishop Clemens, and the statements of Justin Martyr, that this was not universally the case. In many districts country churches were formed very early; and Origen says expressly that many considered it their duty to visit not only the cities, but also the country towns and villas; and that this was the case seems evident, moreover, from the great number of country bishops in particular districts.

In the New Testament we find accounts of the dissemination of Christianity in Syria; in Cilicia; probably also in the Parthian empire, which at that time was very extensive; in Arabia; in Lesser Asia, and the countries adjacent; in Greece and the neighboring countries as far as Illyricum; and also in Italy. But authentic accounts on this subject are greatly deficient; for later traditions, growing out of the desire to trace each national church to an immediately apostolic origin, deserve no consideration. — *Neander*, "*General Church History*," *Vol. I, pp. 108-10.*

(2) **The Spread of Christianity in Europe.**—Passing over to Europe, we have in Rome the chief but not the only seat of the propagation of Christianity. Flourishing communities, at Lugdunum (Lyons) and Vienne, become known during a bloody persecution in 177. The great number of Christians from Asia Minor whom we find here, and the close connection of these communities with those of that country, lead to the conjecture that the commercial intercourse between these districts of France and Asia Minor, an original seat of the Christian Church, had led to the planting of a Christian colony in Gaul. In the other parts of Gaul the pagan superstition long withstood the further spread of Christianity. Even as late as the middle of the third century, few Christian communities were to be found there. According to the French historian, Gregory of Tours, seven missionaries came, at that time, to Gaul from Rome, and founded churches in seven cities, over which they became bishops.—*Neander's* "*Church History*," *Vol. I, p. 116.*

14. THE PATRISTIC CHURCH, A.D. 101-313.

When Christianity came forward with its strange claims upon the confidence of men there was but little in its exterior which could awaken sympathy. The most despised land had produced it. Its Founder had suffered death on the shameful cross. Its first apostles were of humble origin, and, with the exception of Paul, not one had drunk at the classic fountains. That a new faith, with such multiform disadvantages, should venture upon such a hostile field, where the literature and traditions of many centuries held firm ground, seemed a hopeless task. But the heroism of the first preachers of Christianity was not disturbed by the number or strength of the enemy. The promise of their Founder was the basis of their faith. They wrought on and expected triumph over every foe.

The path of the Greek to mastery had been through all fields of intellectual development. Out of the old Pelasgic cradle he had grown to the full grandeur of Attic manhood. The blood of many tribes flowed through his veins, and he had absorbed the strongest and best elements of all.

The growth of their philosophical systems was contemporaneous with their national prosperity. The dealing with the fundamental questions of human existence and destiny by Socrates and Plato reveals a deep moral purpose. The most spiritual of the entire circle of Greek philosophers was Plato. In many departments of his philosophy, such as the unity and spirituality of God and the immortality of the soul, he made, though unconsciously, very near approaches to the truths of revelation. Eusebius said: "Plato alone, of all the Greeks, reached the vestibule of truth and stood upon its threshold."

When Christianity began its contest for the world's possession, the Roman rule was universal. Law was the Roman habit and to govern was the Roman passion. The hold of the old mythology was broken, and a general skepticism as to all beliefs prevailed. But the emperors regarded the preservation of the ancestral faith as the great bulwark of the throne. Political government and fidelity to the prevailing mythology were held to be inseparable. Hence Christianity was bitterly opposed, so soon as its antagonism was discovered. It was seen to be hostile to the elaborate temple service.

The more clearly Christianity came into view, the more stringent became the measures for its suppression. The Christians made no concealments. They absented themselves from the temples, threw off all faith in the ruling mythology, and openly declared their hostility to it.

The Twelve Tables of the Roman law forbade the existence of foreign faiths within the dominions, but the usage had been to conciliate the conquered provinces by toleration of the existing religions. The appearance of the Christians, however, was the signal for the revival of the old prohibition. The bonds uniting the Christians were close. Their separate services were declared an act of hostility to the country. They were accused of disobedience to the laws and of a spirit ripe at any moment for insurrection. They were charged with immoral practices at their services. (1) All public calamities, such as earthquakes, inundations, pestilence, and defeat in war, were attributed to them. A popular proverb ran thus: "*Deus non pluit—duc ad Christianos!*"—"It does not rain—lead against the Christians!" (2)

From A.D. 64 to 313, when Constantine granted an edict of toleration to the Christians, persecutions prevailed about seventy years. All forms of torture and violent death were inflicted. There was no security at home. The exiles were numerous, but the Christians carried their faith and life with them to their new places of abode, where they built up societies, which in turn became centers for the wider dissemination of the gospel. Christianity had conquered in the realm of political life. (3)

14. THE PATRISTIC CHURCH.

(1) The Moral and Religious Life of the Early Christians.—Those who were lately the slaves of sensual passion, as was the case with myself, have now no ambition other than to lead pure and holy lives; those who but yesterday were given to the practices of sorcery and the art of magic, are today consecrated to the service of the eternal and unbegotten God; those who as pagans prized wealth above everything else, as Christians distribute all they have to the poor; those who formerly despised persons of any other nationality but their own, ridiculed their customs, and would hold no intercourse with them, live, since the birth of Christ in their souls, in peace with their enemies, and offer prayers and do other kind offices for those who hate and persecute them.—*Justin Martyr, "Apology," I., c. 14.* You find fault with us because we love, and you hate, each other; because we are ready to die for one another, while you are always on the point of destroying each other; because the spirit of fraternal love leads among us to a community of goods, while among you it is precisely such earthly possessions that are the cause of your enmities. You think it incredible that we, possessing everything else in common, should except our wives, while among you these constitute the only community of goods.—*Tertullian "Apology Against the Pagans," ch. 39.*

(2) Causes of Persecution.—The Law of the Twelve Tables had already forbidden the exercise of foreign modes of worship within the Roman empire (*Religiones peregrinæ, Collegia illicita*), for religion was exclusively an affair of the state and entered most intimately into all civil and municipal relations, and on this account whatever endangered the national religion was regarded as necessarily imperiling the state itself. Political considerations, however, led to the granting to conquered nations the free use of their own forms of worship. This concession did not materially help Christianity after it had ceased, in the time of Nero, to be regularly confounded by the Roman authorities with Judaism, as had been the case in the time of Claudius, and Judaism, after the destruction of Jerusalem, had been sharply distinguished from it. It publicly proclaimed its intention to completely dislodge all other religions, and the rapidity with which it spread showed how energetically its intentions were carried out. The close fellowship and brotherliness that prevailed among Christians, as well as their exclusive, and during times of persecution even secret assemblies, aroused the suspicion that they had political tendencies. Their withdrawal from civil and military services on account of the pagan ceremonies connected with them, especially their refusal to burn incense before the statues of the emperor, also the steadfastness of their faith, which was proof against all violence and persuasion alike, their retiredness from the world, etc., were regarded as evidence of their indifference or hostility to the general well-being of the state, as invincible stiff-neckedness, as contumacy, sedition, and high treason. The heathen populace saw in the Christians the sacrilegious enemies and despisers of their gods; and the Christian religion, which was without temples, altars and sacrifices, seemed to them pure atheism. The most horrible calumnies, that in their assemblies (*Agapæ*) the vilest immoralities were practised (*Concubitus Œdipodei*), children slain and human flesh eaten (*Epulæ Thyesteæ,*) were readily believed. All public misfortunes were thus attributed to the wrath of the gods against the Christians, who treated them with contempt. *Non pluit Deus, duc ad Christianos!* The heathen priests also, the temple servants and the image makers were always ready in their own common interests to stir up the suspicions of the people. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the fire of persecution on the part of the heathen people and the heathen state continued to rage for centuries.—*Kurtz, "Church History," Vol. I, pp. 75-6.*

Though the idea was not sharply and clearly defined, there was yet a widespread and profound conviction that the Lord's Supper was a supremely holy mystery, spiritual food indispensable to eternal life, that the body and blood of the Lord entered into some mystical connection with the bread and wine, and placed the believing partaker of them in true and essential fellowship with Christ. It was in consequence of the adoption of such modes of expression that the pagan calumnies about *Thyestian feasts* first gained currency. Ignatius calls the Lord's Supper a φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, the cup a ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος Χριστοῦ, and professes εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος.—*Ibid, pp. 204-5.*

(3) Causes of the Spread of Christianity.—*Christianity* met and *fully satisfied every religious craving of the human soul,* thus accomplishing a work in which both the philosophies of the time and the religious superstitions of the East had failed. It gave rest to the troubled soul and peace to the heart, dispelled the perplexity of doubt, and brought comfort to the sinner and pardon to the guilty. It recommended itself to the Jews who had laid aside their prejudice, as well as to Heathens, as a divine religion, adequate to the work of salvation; held out to the poor the hope of everlasting joys and cheered the desponding; inspired in the slave a feeling of true liberty and manly dignity, and forced the master to recognize and respect the inalienable rights of man.

Besides all these, there were many other instruments of power and influence placed within the reach of the Christian missionary. He could confidently appeal to the fact that both the Jewish and the *Sibylline* prophecies had been fulfilled in the person of Christ, and point to the holy and irreproachable *lives of the Christians* as an undeniable result of their religion. Again, the contempt of the Christians for the goods of this world, the purity of their morals, their sympathetic charity, their numerous acts of kindness and beneficence, their patience under injuries, and above all, their enduring fortitude and heroic courage in bearing up under the most violent persecution, were such as to excite the astonishment of all and elicit the admiration of the Pagans themselves. "The Christians," says the Pagan Cæcilius, in the work of *Minutius Felix*, known as the Octavius, "love each other before they become acquainted." And *Tertullian* says that even the enemies of the Christians were forced to cry out in wonder, "Behold how they love and are ready to die for one another."

But, if there was one thing above another that drew the attention of all upon the Christians and inspired feelings of admiration for them in the breasts of others, it was the heroic fortitude and joy which so many evinced in laying down their lives for their faith.—*J. Alzog, "Universal Church History," Vol. I, pp. 254-5.*

15. CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 313-768.

Constantine declared himself a Christian in sympathy, early in his reign. Before the decisive battle of the Rubra Saxa with Maxentius he claimed to see in the sky the sign of the cross, with the words, *En touto nika*—"By this conquer." He accepted the token as an argument in favor of Christianity, gained the battle for the crown of the Roman empire, and henceforth avowed his belief in Christianity. His vision, though in the line of his sympathies, was probably only a shrewd method to attract the Christians to his support. He carried the labarum, a standard inscribed with the cross, in all his subsequent wars. His policy was at first to make all Christians favor his rule, and by granting concessions to heal the alienation from the empire which the repressive policy of his predecessors had produced.

The Labarum, *Cf. p. 379.*

The edict tolerating Christianity as one of the legal religions of the empire was published in A.D. 313. But in 323 he enlarged the scope of his favor and made Christianity the established faith of all his dominions. Among the chief special acts of Constantine in favor of the Church were: his order for the civil observance of Sunday, his confiscation in the East of pagan temples for Christian churches, his emancipation of slaves, his exemption of the clergy from military and municipal duty, and his ardent promotion of Christian education among his subjects.

It was a happy day when the Christians could walk abroad without fear of persecution. But Constantine claimed the right to supervise religion, as the emperor had always done in the case of paganism. He accounted himself still the great high priest, or Pontifex Maximus, and assumed the prerogative to compose differences, decide questions of religious policy, call ecclesiastical councils, and appoint the leading officers. He had no faith in paganism, but would not suppress it. His line of conduct was to allow it to go on as he found it, and yet to help the Christians to conquer it. He was, of all successful rulers, the most successful trimmer. (1)

St. Martin's Church at Canterbury. The First Christian Church in England, used by Bertha, Queen of Ethelbert, 565-616 A.D.

Hitherto the Church had been a grand moral unity, held together by ties of love and doctrine. But now it was absorbed by the State. Its framework was lost in the body politic. Freeman says: "The Church conquered the State." This is a great error. Constantine's adoption of Christianity as the State religion was the conquest of the Church by the State. All the moral forces of the Church were now impaired. The bondage of the Church to the State, thus early begun, produced the great evils of the following twelve centuries—superstition, the purchase

of office, the angry controversy about theological trifles, the moral corruption of the clergy and the ignorance of the masses.

When Julian came to the throne in 355, for a time he was silent as to his attitude toward the Christians, but he soon exhibited a spirit of refined opposition to all Christian institutions and doctrines. He issued no formal edict against Christianity, but raised barriers on every hand. He was the last ruler on the Roman throne who was hostile to Christianity. He passed into history as Julian the Apostate. The epithet is probably a misnomer, as it is not likely that Julian was ever a real disciple of Christ. (2)

The march of the Roman bishop towards priority throughout the Christian world was steady. Bishop Leo I. (440-461) was a man of strong intellect, and he did much to clothe himself with power and prestige. But the most eminent incumbent of the Roman episcopate was Gregory, who was called the Great, and ruled A.D. 590-604. Under him every department of the priesthood and the episcopacy advanced in strength.

Roman centralization became constantly greater. Church offices multiplied rapidly, and the close of the early period was the signal for larger measures for Roman primacy. The Bishops of Rome were the real rulers of Southern Europe from the Constantinian dynasty to the reign of Charles the Great.

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15. CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

(1) **Constantine and His Sons.**—Constantine's profession of Christianity was not wholly the result of political craft, though his use of the name *Pontifex Maximus*, and in this capacity the continued exercise of certain pagan practices, gave some color to such an opinion. . . . His three sons divided the Empire among them. Constantius (A.D. 337-361) retained the East, and became, after the death of Constantine II. in A.D. 340 and of Constans in A.D. 350, sole ruler. All the three sought to put down paganism by force. Constantius closed the heathen temples and forbade all sacrifices on pain of death. Multitudes of heathens went over to Christianity, few probably from conviction. Among the nobler pagans there was thus awakened a strong aversion to Christianity. Patriotism and manly spirit came to be identified with the maintenance of the old religion.—*Kurtz, "Church History," Vol. I, p. 237.*

(2) **Julian.** — Acknowledged now as emperor throughout the whole empire without any opposition, Julian proceeded with zeal, enthusiasm and vigor to accomplish his long-cherished wish, the restoring of the glory of the old national religion. He used no violent measures for the subversion and overthrow of Christianity, nor did he punish Christian obstinacy with death, except where it seemed to him the maintenance of his supremacy required it. But he demanded that temples which had been converted into churches should be restored to the heathen worship, those destroyed should be restored at the cost of the church exchequer, and the money for the state that had been applied to ecclesiastical purposes had to be repaid. He scornfully referred the clergy thus robbed of their revenues to the blessedness of evangelical poverty. He also fomented as much as possible dissension in the church, favored all sectaries and heretics, excluded Christians from all the higher, and afterwards from all the lower, civil and military offices, and loaded them on every occasion with reproach and shame, and by these means he actually induced many to apostatize. In order to discredit Christ's prophecy in Matt. xxiv. 2, he resolved on the restoration of the Jewish temple at Jerusalem, but after having been begun it was destroyed by an earthquake. He excluded all Christian teachers from the public schools, and also forbade them in their own schools from explaining the classical writers who were objected to and contested by them only as godless; so that Christian boys and youths could obtain a higher classical education only in the pagan schools. By petty artifices he endeavored to get Christian soldiers to take part, if only even seemingly, in the heathen sacrifices. Indeed at a later period in Antioch he was not ashamed to stoop to the mean artifice of Galerian (§ 22, 6) of sprinkling with sacrificial water the necessaries of life exposed in the public market, etc. On the other hand, he strove in every way to elevate and ennoble paganism. From Christianity he borrowed Benevolent Institutions, Church Discipline, Preaching, Public Service of Song, etc.; he gave many distinctions to the heathen priesthood, but required of them a strict discipline. He himself sacrificed and preached as *Pontifex Maximus*, and led a strictly ascetic, almost a cynically simple life. The ineffectiveness of his attempts and the daring, often even contemptuous, resistance of many Christian zealots embittered him more and more, so that there was now danger of bloody persecution when, after a reign of twenty months, he was killed from a javelin blow in a battle against the Persians in A.D. 363. Shortly before in answer to the scornful question of a heathen, "What is your Carpenter's Son doing now?" it had been answered, "He is making a coffin for your emperor." At a later period the story became current that Julian himself, when he received the deadly stroke, exclaimed, *Tandem vicisti Galilæe!* His military talents and military virtues had shed a glory around the throne of the Cæsars such as it had not known since the days of Marcus Aurelius, and yet his whole life's struggle was and remained utterly fruitless and vain.—*Kurtz, "Church History," Vol. I, pp. 238, 239.*

16. THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH. (A.D. 768-1517.)

The significance of the Middle Ages lies in their transitional character. It was the far-reaching mission of this remarkable period to test the power of Christianity for meeting the wants of new nations; to withstand the shock of all philosophical schools; to sift and preserve the best that remained of the ancient world and pass it safely down for modern use; and, above all, to prove the ultimate power of Christianity to rise above the infirmities of those who professed it, and to lay the foundations of a new spiritual life by a return to the pure apostolic example. The office of the Mediæval Church was to conduct man from the narrow limits of the pagan to the Protestant world.

Carved Ivory Book-cover, Ninth Century.

The first period of the Mediæval Church extends from Charles the Great to the papacy of Gregory VII.—A.D. 768-1073. This was the time of the full appropriation and unification of the Germanic and other northern elements. Mohammedanism, lying at the border-line between the ancient and the mediæval time, arose as a counterforce to Christianity. Papal supremacy in Church and State culminated. Looked upon in retrospect, there is almost no intellectual or political treasure of the nineteenth century whose precious seeds were not cast into the ready soil between the ninth and sixteenth centuries.

Charlemagne, King of the Franks and Emperor of the Romans, 747-814 A.D.

"The process of centralization north of the Alps began with Charles the Great—Charlemagne. His rule was the signal of death to the tottering Roman empire. It was also the first prophecy of the ascendency of the new Gothic nations of the North and of their firm place in the later life of Europe. In him the old classic conditions disappeared and the new political life began its career. Charles the Great ascended the throne on the death of his father, Pepin, in 768. He divided with his brother, Carloman, the Frankish empire. Carloman died in 771, and Charles the Great united his own empire with that of the rest of the family and claimed rule over all, without regard to the rights of his brother's family. The soil was now prepared for the new European life—the Church and the State working hand in hand for universal dominion. Charles the Great regarded himself as a theocratic lord. His notion of himself was not that he was a mere suc-

cessor of Constantine or Augustus Cæsar, but of David or Solomon—the head of a vast theocracy. To the pope, Leo III., he made this declaration of their mutual relations: "It is my bounden duty, by the help of the divine compassion, everywhere to defend outwardly by arms the holy Church of Christ against every attack of the heathen and every devastation caused by unbelievers; and inwardly to defend it by the recognition of the general faith. But it is your duty, Holy Father, to raise your hands to God, as Moses did, and to support my military service by your prayers." Leo III. accepted this declaration with the utmost complaisance.

Charles the Great surrounded himself with learned men. Alcuin of England was his advisor in all literary and educational matters. Guizot calls Alcuin the "intellectual prime-minister of Charles the Great."

The final and complete cementing of papal and imperial interests took place under Charles the Great. In the midst of the magnificent Christmas festivities of the year 800 in the city of Rome, Leo III. advanced towards Charles and placed upon his head a golden crown with these words: "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor!" As compensation for this important papal service Charles enlarged the papal territory which had been first given by his father Pepin, and placed the papacy itself, as a temporal sovereignty, on a plan entirely new to history.

Charles' successors were a group of steadily dissolving lights. The extinction of the Carolingians in 987 was simultaneous with the complete ascendency of the papacy. (1) By the time the last descendants of the great Charles were spending their closing days as mere weak functionaries in the palace of Laon, the Church had become proprietor of more than all its old prerogatives, and was holding its new territory with a grasp which relaxed only when its arm was stretched for more.

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16. THE MEDIAEVAL CHURCH.

(1) **The Beginnings of the Temporal Power of the Papacy.**—From bequests and presents of ancient times the Roman chair succeeded to an immense landed property, *Patrimonium S. Petri*, which afforded it the means of greatly assuaging the distress of the inhabitants of Italy during the disturbances of the migrations of the peoples. There was naturally then no word of the exercise of sovereign rights. From the time of the restoration of the Byzantine exarchate in A.D. 567 (§ 76, 7) the political importance of the pope grew immensely; its continued existence was often dependent on the good will of the pope for whom generally indeed the idea of becoming the court patriarch of a Longobard-Roman emperor was not an enticing one. But the pope could not prevent the Longobard power from gaining ground in the north as well as in the south of the peninsula. An important increase of influence, power and prestige was brought to the papal chair under Gregory II., A.D. 715-731, through the rebellions in northern and central Italy occasioned by the Byzantine iconoclastic disputes. Rome was in this way raised to a kind of political suzerainty not only over the Roman duchy but also over the rest of the exarchate in the north—Ravenna and the neighboring cities together with Venice (§ 66, 1). Gregory III., A.D. 731-741, hard pressed by Luitprand the Longobard, thrice (A.D. 739, 740) applied for help to the Frank Charles Martel, who, closely bound in friendship with Luitprand, his ally against the Saracens, sent some clerics to Italy to secure a peaceful arrangement. Gregory's successor Zacharias, A.D. 741-752, sanctioned by his apostolic judgment the setting aside of the Merovingian sham king Childeric III., whereupon Pepin the Short, in A.D. 752, assumed the royal title with the royal power which he had long possessed. . . . The Longobard Aistulf had in A.D. 751 conquered Ravenna and the cities connected with it. Pope Stephen II. sought help anew of the Frankish king and supported his petition by forwarding an autograph letter of the Apostle Peter, in which he exhorted the king of the Franks as his adopted son under peril of all the pains of hell to save Rome and the Roman church. He himself at Pepin's invitation went to France. At Ponthion, where, in A.D. 754, the king greeted him, Pepin promised the pope to restore to Rome her former possessions and to give protection against further inroads of the Longobards; while the pope imparted to the king and his two sons Charles and Carloman the kingly anointing in the church of St. Dionysius or Denis in Paris. At Quiersy then Pepin took counsel with his sons and the nobles of his kingdom about the fulfilling of his promise, bound the Longobard king by oath in the year following after a successful campaign to surrender the cities, properties and privileges claimed by the pope, and assigned these in A.D. 755 as a present to St. Peter as their possessor from that time forth. But scarcely had he retired with his army when Aistulf not only refused all and any surrender, but broke in anew upon Roman territory, robbing and laying waste on every side. By a second campaign, however, in A.D. 756, Pepin compelled him actually to deliver over the required cities in the provinces of Rome and Ravenna the key of which he deposited with a deed of gift, no longer extant, on the grave of St. Peter; while the pope, transferring to Pepin the honorary title of Exarch of Ravenna, decorated him with the insignia of a Roman patrician. —*Kurtz, "Church History," Vol. I, pp. 484, 485.*

17. THE CRUSADES A.D. 1096-1270.

The origin of the Crusades is to be found in the occupation of Palestine by its Mohammedan conquerors. The pilgrims from Europe cherished the warmest attachment to the sacred places. The Mohammedans not only occupied them, but persecuted the pilgrims. The sanctuaries were profaned, and the venerated patriarchs were thrown into prison. Christian merchants from Pisa, Amalfi, Genoa and other rich Italian ports were fortunate if they escaped with their lives. The evil reports came back to Europe, and then began a series of military expeditions against the Mohammedans. These were called Crusades because of the cross (*crux*) worn by the warriors.

Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.

Pope Gregory VII. was the first, it is believed, who conceived the idea of sending from Europe an armed expedition, not only to punish the Mohammedan rulers, but to occupy and rule the country. His successors, Victor VIII. and Urban II., indulged the same strong hope. All that was wanting were popular leaders who would fire the heart of Christian Europe. These appeared in Walter the Penniless and Peter the Hermit. The latter had been a soldier under the counts of Boulogne, but forsook his military career, made a journey to Palestine, and saw the indignities suffered by the pilgrims. He returned to Europe, traveled through Italy and France, and aroused the people to a frenzy of indignation against the Moslems. He was a dwarf, wore neither shoes nor hat, and rode an ass. His appeals were irresistible. Multitudes regarded him as the representative of a holy cause, and through him 40,000 men joined the first Crusade.

The varied fortunes of the Crusaders furnish a striking picture. The best blood of Europe was boiling in sympathy with Christians in their aspirations to kneel beside the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and rule over the land in which Jesus had lived. Six different armies constituted the first Crusade. They numbered six hundred thousand people, who were led by Godfrey, Hugh the Great, Tancred, Raymond of Toulouse, and Robert of Normandy. This Crusade, begun in 1096, resulted in the capture of Jerusalem within two years, and in making Godfrey of Bouillon king of the sacred city.

In the next Crusade St. Bernard was the Apostle. Louis VII. of France and Conrad III. of Germany led one million two hundred thousand men against the Saracens. The great object was to reduce Damascus, as a support to the kingdom of Jerusalem. It was a failure, and only the mere fragments of the armies reached Europe again. Saladin, the great Mohammedan chief, conquered Jerusalem in 1187, and this was the signal for the third Crusade to rescue the Holy City and the entire country. Germany under Frederic Barbarossa, France under Philip Augustus, and England under Richard Cœur de Lion united their forces. Through division among the leaders this also failed.

The fourth Crusade led by the Knights of St. John, and the fifth inspired by the authority of Pope Innocent III. and the fervor of Fulk of Neuilly, but afterward diverted by the Venetian doge Dandolo to the conquest of Zara and the establishment of the Latin empire of Constantinople, also ended in disaster.

The sixth Crusade (1228) under the direction and through the diplomacy of Frederick II. of Germany proved a success. Palestine was ceded to the emperor, and became a Christian land; but was lost during the seventh, which followed in 1248, under the leadership of Louis IX. of France. The eighth and last Crusade (1270) was also under the guidance of Louis IX. of France. It proved the final failure of the series. Europe was exhausted and the cause was lost.

The Crusades seem to have saved France, Central Germany, Scandinavia and even Britain from the hand of the Saracen. All of Central and Western Europe had been torn up by a feudal and predatory system. The Crusades broke up this system and bound the people together by a common law. (1) When the last Crusader came home from Palestine he found himself a member of a broad commonwealth and not the head of a clan. The cruelty of rulers was arrested. The voice of the people was heard for the first time, and kings learned that there was a limit to their authority. Commerce took larger and freer shape. The far Eastern countries were brought into close relationship with the Western.

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17. THE CRUSADES.

(1) **The Sequel of the Religious Wars.**—The crusades had come to an end. The embers smouldered on; but it was to the last degree unlikely that they would be rekindled. The great military orders withdrew to seek a field for their energies elsewhere; the Teutonic knights to the dreary regions of Lithuania and Poland—the knights of the Hospital first to Cyprus, then to Rhodes where, after many a hard fight with Greeks and Saracens, they achieved the conquest of the whole island and settled down to repose in their earthly paradise. The dream of returning to Palestine still haunted the mind of Edward I., who by his will left 30,000*l.* for the equipment and maintenance of the knights who were to bear his heart to the Holy Land; but probably the last reflection of the old fire is seen in the words by which Henry V. in his dying moments asserted the bounden duty of princes to build the walls of Jerusalem, and declared that, had he been spared for a longer life, or had he lived in quieter times, he would have undertaken this task of restoration. Even now, perhaps, the task was one of no insuperable difficulty. Its practicability had been shown more than once by its accomplishment; but it was one which must be taken in hand in the spirit of that wise and tolerant statesmanship which seeks to further the interests of the subject population, and to make one people of the conquerors and the conquered. This idea was, as we have seen, deliberately rejected by the first crusaders, and, with the single exception of the emperor Henry at Constantinople, by all who followed them. There is no reason to suppose that the English Henry V. would have been animated by a wiser spirit and a larger charity than the companions of Godfrey and Tancred.

But as the motives which led to the crusades were complex, so their results were complex also. The Picture must not be presented only in its darker aspects. We have seen the effect which they produced on the growth of the temporal power of the popes. We must not forget that by rolling back the tide of Mahommedan conquest from Constantinople for upwards of four centuries they probably saved Europe from horrors, the recital of which might even now make our ears tingle; that by weakening the resources and the power of the barons they strengthened the authority of the kings acting in alliance with the citizens of the great towns; that this alliance broke up the feudal system, gradually abolished serfdom, and substituted the authority of a common law for the arbitrary will of chiefs who for real or supposed affronts rush to the arbitrament of private war. Worthless in themselves, and wholly useless as means for founding any permanent dominion in Palestine or elsewhere, these enterprises have affected the commonwealths of Europe in ways of which the promoters never

Strasbourg Cathedral, 11-15th Century.

dreamed. They left a wider gulf between the Greek and the Latin churches, between the subjects of the Eastern empire and the nations of Western Europe; but by the mere fact of throwing East and West together they led gradually to that interchange of thought and that awakening of the human intellect to which we owe all that distinguishes our modern civilization from the religious and political systems of the middle ages.—*G. W. Cox*, "*The Crusades*," *pp. 219-24.*

18. THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN CHURCH.

Many things early contributed to give pre-eminence to the bishop of Rome. The Church at Rome was firm in the midst of many heresies. After the overthrow of Jerusalem it was believed to be the oldest apostolic Church. In the giving of alms, in missionary zeal and in devotional purity, the Roman Christians had no superiors. The certain residence of Paul in Rome, and the already growing impression of Peter's sojourn there, were important apostolical associations which clothed the Roman society with great sanctity. By the middle of the second century there was frequent mention of the primacy of Rome. So soon as this intimation was expressed strong words were spoken against it.

The resisting force lay in the Eastern Church, where Antioch was leader. But there was little cohesion in the East. It was regarded as provincial, while in spiritual affairs Rome came constantly into more prominent leadership. The protests from the East after a time received little or no attention. When Firmilian, the bishop of Cappadocian Cæsarea, dared to charge Stephen of Rome with boasting of episcopal superiority he was laughed at in the Western metropolis.

Constantinople from the Tower of Galata.

When Constantine made the obscure Byzantium, (thereafter called Constantinople) which had been subordinate to Heraclea, the capital of Thrace, his vast capital and the center of imperial authority, much advantage to the Church was expected. But when he passed away, there was little purity left. The palace became a nest of intrigue and revolution. But the Roman Church life had the equipoise of power. It had neither the wish nor the talent for theological invention.

The divisions of the Eastern empire, the decline of moral life, the universal spread of controversy, and particularly the pre-eminent ability of several of the bishops of Rome, were calculated to advance the claims of that patriarchate above all others. Gregory the Great devoted himself to the purification of the life of the Church and the enforcement of monastic discipline. He was especially active in his encouragement of missions. Under him the authority of the Roman bishop advanced far beyond its former dimensions. He created the papacy of history. He preserved amicable relations with the emperor, and yet held firmly to his ecclesiastical independence.

From the middle of the eleventh century to the thirteenth the papacy grew into enormous proportions. There never floated before the mind of Julius Cæsar or Trajan a larger empire than that to which Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) and other occupants of the Roman see aspired.

The doctrinal divergence between the East and the West was first perceptible in the different teaching on the divinity of the Holy Ghost. The Council of Constantinople decided in 381 that the Holy Ghost is equal in essence with the Son, and that both are consubstantial with the Father. The Western teaching, guided chiefly through the clear and logical intellect of Augustine, held that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. In 589 the Toledo Council, in accordance with this view, added to the symbol of Constantinople the term *Filioque* —"and from the Son."

The Eastern Church held that the patriarch of Constantinople was equal in rank to the Roman bishop. At Rome this claim was indignantly rejected.

The complete schism took place in 1054. Constantine Monachus, the Byzantine emperor, having in view a war, applied to the Roman pope for friendly support. This overture awakened the wrath of Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, and of Leo of Achrida, metropolitan of Bulgaria. They wrote a letter to the bishops of the Latin Church, charging it with grave doctrinal errors and urging it to renounce them. This letter reached Pope Leo IX. He was intensely excited, and bitter letters passed between Rome and Constantinople. The pope sent three delegates to the latter city. But only a fiercer animosity ensued. The signal of an open and final rupture was given by the issuing of a public excommunication of the patriarch by the legates, in the Church of St. Sophia, and their withdrawal to Rome. (1)

During the Crusades, which united all Christendom in their chief purpose, and until the middle of the fifteenth century, strong but futile attempts were made to restore the unity of the East and the West. But when the Byzantine empire went down in 1453 all serious and general efforts for union ceased.

18. THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN CHURCH.

(1) **The Causes of Separation.** — Church history, like the world's history, moves with the sun from East to West. In the first six centuries the Eastern or Greek church represented the main current of life and progress. In the middle ages the Latin church chiefly assumed the task of christianizing and civilizing the new races which came upon the stage. The Greek church has had no Middle Ages in the usual sense, and therefore no Reformation. She planted Christianity among the Slavonic races, but they were isolated from the progress of European history, and have not materially affected either the doctrine or polity or cultus of the church. Their conversion was an external expansion, not an internal development.

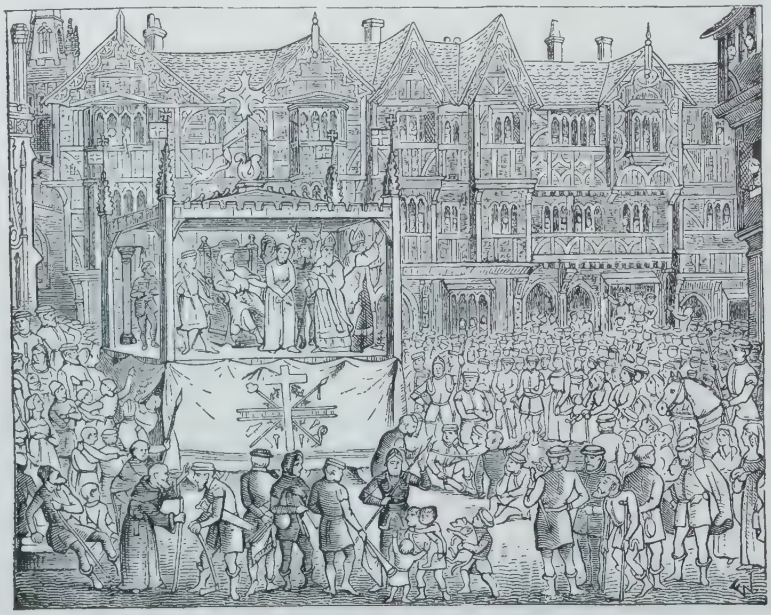
The principal sees of the East were directly founded by the apostles — with the exception of Constantinople — and had even a clearer title to apostolic succession and inheritance than Rome. The Greek church took the lead in theology down to the sixth or seventh century, and the Latin gratefully learned from her. All the œcumenical Councils were held on the soil of the Byzantine empire in or near Constantinople, and carried on in the Greek language. The great doctrinal controversies on the holy Trinity and Christology were fought out in the East, yet not without the powerful aid of the more steady and practical West.

And here we approach the secret of the ultimate separation and incurable antagonism of the churches. It is due chiefly to three causes: The first cause is the politico-ecclesiastical rivalry of the patriarch of Constantinople backed by the Byzantine empire, and the bishop of Rome in connection with the new German empire. The second cause is the growing centralization and overbearing conduct of the Latin church in and through the papacy. The third cause is the stationary character of the Greek and the progressive character of the Latin church during the middle ages. The Greek church boasts of the imaginary perfection of her creed. She still produced considerable scholars and divines, as Maximus, John of Damascus, Photius, Œcumenius, and Theophylact, but they mostly confined themselves to the work of epitomizing and systematizing the traditional theology of the Greek fathers, and produced no new ideas, as if all wisdom began and ended with the old œcumenical Councils. She took no interest in the important anthropological and soteriological controversies which agitated the Latin church in the age of St. Augustin, and she continued to occupy the indefinite position of the first centuries on the doctrines of sin and grace. On the other hand she was much distracted and weakened by barren metaphysical controversies on the abstrusest questions of theology and christology; and these quarrels facilitated the rapid progress of Islâm, which conquered the lands of the Bible and pressed hard on Constantinople. When the Greek church became stationary, the Latin church began to develop her greatest energy; she became the fruitful mother of new and vigorous nations of the North and West of Europe, produced scholastic and mystic theology and a new order of civilization, built magnificent cathedrals, discovered a new Continent, invented the art of printing, and with the revival of learning prepared the way for a new era in the history of the world. Thus the Latin daughter outgrew the Greek mother, and is numerically twice as strong, without counting the Protestant secession. At the same time the Eastern church still may look forward to a new future among the Slavonic races which she has christianized. What she needs is a revival of the spirit and power of primitive Christianity.

When once the two churches were alienated in spirit and engaged in an unchristian race for supremacy, all the little doctrinal and ritualistic differences which had existed long before, assumed an undue weight, and were branded as heresies and crimes. The bishop of Rome sees in the Patriarch of Constantinople an ecclesiastical upstart who owed his power to political influence, not to apostolic origin. The Eastern patriarchs look upon the Pope as an anti-christian usurper and as the first Protestant. They stigmatize the papal supremacy as "the chief heresy of the latter days, which flourishes now as its predecessor, Arianism, flourished in former days, and which like it, will in like manner be cast down and vanish away."— *Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," Vol. IV, pp. 309-12.*

THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.**—Organization, Practical life, Missionary movement, Peter, Paul, John, James.
14. **THE PATRISTIC CHURCH.**—Greek, Socrates, Plato, Romans, Persecutions.
15. **CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE.**—Constantine, The labarum, Edict of toleration, Pontifex Maximus, Bondage, Julian, Roman centralization.
16. **THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH.**—Transition, New nations, Classical culture, Self-purification, Papal supremacy, Charlemagne and Leo III., Papal territory.
17. **THE CRUSADES.**—Cause, Gregory VII., Peter the Hermit, Godfrey of Bouillon, Damascus and Saladin, Richard the Lionhearted, The doge Dandolo, Sixth, seventh and eighth crusades, Results in politics and other forms of culture.
18. **THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN CHURCH.**—The merits of the church at Rome, Antioch and Constantinople, Gregory the Great, Hildebrand, Filioque, Patriarch and Pope.



Miracle Play at Coventry.

QUESTIONS.

13. *Describe the organization of the Church. What distinguished the practical life of the early Christians? What effort was made for others? Characterize the apostles Peter, Paul, and John.*
14. *Describe the religious philosophy of the Greeks. What was the religious condition of Rome? How did Roman Law regard Christianity? What was the result?*
15. *Describe the conversion of Constantine. Name his special acts in favor of the Church. What churchly functions did Constantine assume? What resulted from the union of Church and State? What part did Gregory the Great play?*
16. *What was the office of the Mediæval Church? How did Charlemagne regard himself? What happened 800 A.D. in Rome?*
17. *What caused the crusades? Sketch their varying fortunes. State the results in politics, commerce, and learning.*
18. *Name the sources of Rome's superiority. State why Antioch and Constantinople failed to equal Rome. What did Gregory the Great accomplish? Explain the doctrinal divergence of the Eastern from the Western Church. When was the schism completed?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Causes of the spread of Christianity.*
2. *Early Christian martyrs.*
3. *The mutual influences of Church and State.*
4. *The effect upon the Roman Church of territorial possessions.*
5. *The influence of warfare upon other culture-forms.*

19. MEDIÆVAL MISSIONS IN EUROPE.

The spread of Christianity continued steadily. Columban and Gallus from Britain were the pioneers in evangelizing the Germans, and were followed by Willibrod the Anglo-Saxon and Winfried of Rome. Winfried, or as he is better known under his Latin name Boniface, was the great apostle of Germany, where he organized the Church about the middle of the eighth century. He was martyred among the Frisians.

From the centers in Germany and France, from Ireland, the "Holy Isle," and from England, missionaries coöperated in founding missions among the heathen dwelling in the remoter parts of Europe. The monasteries kept up a close brotherhood. Monks went out from them, threaded the forests and climbed the mountains of rude and barbarous peoples, and spent their lives amid all possible dangers, in their endeavor to extend Christianity. Many of them fell by violent hands. Sometimes the rulers were the first to accept the gospel, but often it ascended from the poor and the lowly, step by step, until the throne was reached and Christianity was publicly proclaimed as the faith of the State. (1)

Augustinian Convent at Wittenberg.

Harold, King of Jutland, was aided to the throne of his fathers against his competitors by the Carolingian emperor, Louis le Débonnaire. Harold and his queen were then baptized in the cathedral of Mentz in 826, and ever afterwards befriended the gospel. Anskar, a monk of Corbey, accompanied them back to Denmark, with a view to organize the Church in that country. A rebellion was excited against Harold, and he was obliged to flee from the country. Anskar was also driven out, but rather than give up his missionary work he turned his eyes toward the still more savage Sweden and determined to plant missions there.

In 831 Anskar, with Witmar, his brother monk, proceeded to Sweden with gifts for the king of the country. While on their voyage they were attacked by pirates, lost all their possessions and barely escaped with their lives. They reached Birka on the Malar Lake; the king welcomed them, and in a short time his counsellor, Herigar, became a Christian convert.

Anskar went to Rome, was consecrated an archbishop, and departed to preach the gospel to the northern nations. He made a second visit to Sweden in 855. He died in 865, but before his death saw Christianity taking firm hold throughout Scandinavia. He was one of the most beautiful characters of the whole mediæval period.

The first positive accounts we have of the introduction of the gospel into Norway is that it was carried thither by some seafaring youth. Olaf the Thick, king of Norway, called St. Olaf, was the first to organize the Church on a permanent basis in 1019.

The gospel reached Iceland from Norway, and during the tenth century was fully established there by Olaf Trygvesen. From Iceland the gospel was carried to Greenland. Even from these remote regions Rome was strenuous to gather gifts for her treasury. The Greenland Christians paid their tithes to Rome in walrus teeth.

Cyril and Methodius, two Greek monks, were the first to introduce the gospel among the Bulgarians and also among the Moravians. Cyril was a theologian and

Methodius a painter, and the latter's picture of the Day of Judgment had as much to do with the conversion of the people as the arguments of the former. They made a Slavonic version of portions of the Scriptures. During this formative period the Bulgarian Church had its relations with Rome.

The Russian princess Olga embraced Christianity in 955. Her son Swiatôslav was proof against all her importunities to follow her example. Her grandson Vladimir, however, accepted Christianity and caused churches to be organized and the people to be instructed in the use of the Slavonic Scriptures and liturgy.

Poland received the gospel through Christian refugees from Moravia, when that kingdom was broken up. Hungary first became acquainted with Christianity through the instrumentality of certain of her princes while visiting Constantinople. The wild tribes of the Wends between the Saale and the Oder, after an unsuccessful attempt by Gottschalk in 1047, were brought over to the Christian faith in 1168 when Absalon, bishop of Roeskilde, burned the last Wendic idol.

19. MEDIÆVAL MISSIONS IN EUROPE.

(1) **The Character of Mediæval Missions.**—The conversion of the new and savage races which enter the theatre of history at the threshold of the middle ages, was the great work of the Christian church from the sixth to the tenth century. Already in the second or third century, Christianity was carried to the Gauls, the Britons and the Germans on the borders of the Rhine. But these were sporadic efforts with transient results. The work did not begin in earnest till the sixth century, and then it went vigorously forward to the tenth and twelfth, though with many checks and temporary relapses caused by civil wars and foreign invasions.

The Christianization of the Kelts, Teutons, and Slavonians was at the same time a process of civilization, and differed in this respect entirely from the conversion of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans in the preceding age. Christian missionaries laid the foundation for the alphabet, literature, agriculture, laws, and arts of the nations of Northern and Western Europe, as they now do among the heathen nations in Asia and Africa. "The science of language," says a competent judge, "owes more than its first impulse to Christianity. The pioneers of our science were those very apostles who were commanded to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature; and their true successors, the missionaries of the whole Christian church." The same may be said of every branch of knowledge and art of peace. The missionaries, in aiming at piety and the salvation of souls, incidentally promoted mental culture and temporal prosperity. The feeling of brotherhood inspired by Christianity broke down the partition walls between race and race, and created a brotherhood of nations.

The mediæval Christianization was a wholesale conversion, or a conversion of nations under the command of their leaders. It was carried on not only by missionaries and by spiritual means, but also by political influence, alliances of heathen princes with Christian wives, and in some cases (as the baptism of the Saxons under Charlemagne) by military force. It was a conversion not to the primary Christianity of inspired apostles, as laid down in the New Testament, but to the secondary Christianity of ecclesiastical tradition, as taught by the fathers, monks and popes. It was a baptism by water, rather than by fire and the Holy Spirit. The preceding instruction amounted to little or nothing; even the baptismal formula, mechanically recited in Latin, was scarcely understood. The rude barbarians, owing to the weakness of their heathen religion, readily submitted to the new religion; but some tribes yielded only to the sword of the conqueror.

This superficial, wholesale conversion to a nominal Christianity must be regarded in the light of a national infant-baptism. It furnished the basis for a long process of Christian education. The barbarians were children in knowledge, and had to be treated like children. Christianity assumed the form of a new law leading them, as a schoolmaster, to the manhood of Christ.

The missionaries of the middle ages were nearly all monks. They were generally men of limited education and narrow views, but devoted zeal and heroic self-denial. Accustomed to primitive simplicity of life, detached from all earthly ties, trained to all sorts of privations, ready for any amount of labor, and commanding attention and veneration by their unusual habits, their celibacy, fastings and constant devotions, they were upon the whole the best pioneers of Christianity and civilization among the savage races of Northern and Western Europe. The lives of these missionaries are surrounded by their biographers with such a halo of legends and miracles, that it is almost impossible to sift fact from fiction. Many of these miracles no doubt were products of fancy or fraud; but it would be rash to deny them all. The same reason which made miracles necessary in the first introduction of Christianity, may have demanded them among barbarians before they were capable of appreciating the higher moral evidences. —*Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," Vol. IV., pp. 17-19.*

But the missionaries of the dark ages had to visit wild woods and untilled fields, to teach rude nations the alphabet, and to lay the foundation for society, literature and art. Hence Christianity assumed the character of a strong disciplinary institution, a training school for nations in their infancy, which had to be treated as children. Hence the legalistic, hierarchical, ritualistic and romantic character of mediæval Catholicism. Yet in proportion as the nations were trained in the school of the church, they began to assert their independence of the hierarchy and to develop a national literature in their own language.—*Ibid, pp. 11-12.*

20. THE REFORMATION. MARTIN LUTHER (A.D. 1517-1545).

From the eighth century to the middle of the eleventh, the German people became evangelized and gave full promise of their future large place in universal Christian thought and life. At the end of the Middle Ages the Saxon and the Latin Church confronted each other. The Latin represented the past; the Saxon, the future and the permanent. The force which destroyed the old and strong Roman conditions was titanic. The Saxon hammer was irresistible. The Germans of the North were kinsmen to the Saxons and Angles of Britain. Wiclif and Luther were from a common cradle of Teutonic honesty and liberty.

Execution of Savonarola in Florence, 1498.

Protestantism was an oak of young and vigorous growth in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, but its roots lay deep in the soil of the twelfth and the intervening centuries. Among those whose work directly contributed to the Reformation are, in France: Hugo (1097-1141) and Richard (died 1173), both of St. Victor, Peter d' Ailly (1350-1425), John Charlier Gerson (1363-1429) and Nicholas Clémanges (1360-1440); in Germany, Master Eckart (died about 1328), John Tauler (1290-1361), and Henry Suso (1295-1365); in the Netherlands, John Ruysbroek (1293-1381) and John of Goch (1401-1475); in Bohemia, John Hus (1373-1415) and Jerome of Prague (died 1416); in England, John Wiclif (born about 1315); and, in Italy, Jerome Savonarola (died 1498).

Martin Luther.

The Reformation had two characteristics—one national, with all the individuality of race and land that might be expected; the other cosmopolitan, having general fibre and color, always the same, whatever the country or people, from Norway to the Alps, and from Transylvania to the Bay of Biscay. The Reformation has proved to be the chief turning-point in modern history. It is that great religious and intellectual revolution which marks the boundary line between the Middle Ages and the Modern Period.

The call for regeneration was deep and loud. Superstition had become interwoven with the pure doctrine of the gospel. The morals of the clergy, from the papacy down to the humblest monks, had become corrupt. The highest ecclesiastical offices were reached by vicious means. The common people were purposely kept in ignorance.

Against these evils, ruinous at once to intellect and soul, the Reformers made their bold protest, and called upon the people to rally to their standard. Their aim was, at first, a purification of the Church within itself and by its own servants. This proved a total failure. The next step was to withdraw from the fold and establish an independent confession and a separate ecclesiastical structure. This succeeded; and the result is that vast and aggressive sisterhood of Protestant Churches which exists today in all the advanced countries of the world.

All the Teutonic nations had been ripening for the great ecclesiastical revolt, and Central Germany now became the theatre for the Reformation. The popular mind was so fully ready that the only great need now was a man of sufficient courage, ability and singleness of purpose to become the representative of his generation. Luther responded to the universal aspiration for a leader to guide surely and safely into the new paths.

Martin Luther was born in Eisleben, Saxony, November 12, 1483, and died in the same place February 18, 1546. His father was a miner of humble tastes and scanty means. His mother used to carry on her back the wood necessary for the comfort of the humble home. In this son were the calm judgment, the solid sense, and the sturdy valor of the colder blood of the North. But with these was blended the current of a gentle, cheerful and tuneful nature, a sympathetic and social feeling, which stood him in good stead in his later struggles.

He was educated at Magdeburg, Eisenach, (1) and the University of Erfurt, and in 1508 he entered upon his great career as a professor in the University of Wittenberg. On October 31, 1517, he nailed his Theses to the door of the Schlosskirche of Wittenberg, and then began the storm which lasted until the day of his death. (2)

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20. THE REFORMATION. — MARTIN LUTHER.

(1) **Luther's Education.**—Destined for the legal profession, he pursued, at the University of Erfurt, the Nominalist logic and the classics, and made a beginning in the study of Aristotle. He was twenty years old and had taken the Bachelor's degree when it happened that, while he was looking one day at the books in the Erfurt library, he casually took up a copy of the Latin Bible. It was the first time in his life that he had ever taken the sacred volume in his hands. Struck with surprise at the richness of its contents, compared with the extracts which he had been wont to hear in the Church services, he read it with eagerness and intense delight. This hour was an epoch in his existence. Deep religious anxieties that had haunted him from childhood, moved him, two years later, against the will of his father, to forsake the legal profession and enter the Augustinian convent, where he became a monk and a priest.—*Fisher, "The Reformation," pp. 88-9.*

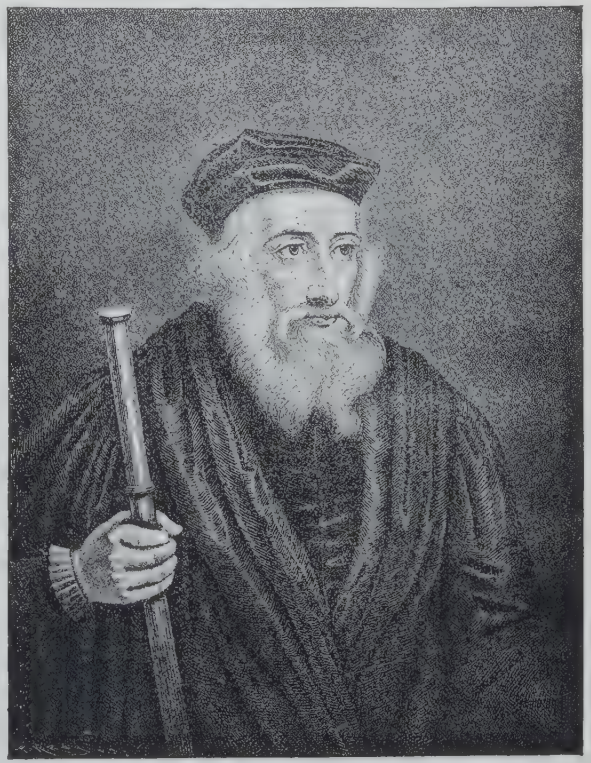
(2) **Luther's Personality.**—Of Luther's appearance in 1519, when he met in disputation with Eck at Leipzig, Mosellanus says: "He was of medium height. His face and whole body were as thin as a skeleton, caused by long study and much care. His voice was clear. His address bore every mark of great learning and acquaintance with the Bible. His bearing was friendly and attractive. He was full of vitality, and calm and joyous amid the threats of his enemies, as one would be who undertakes great things with God's help. In controversy he was defiant and incisive, as a theologian ought to be."

Luther's Greatness.—Concerning Luther's defense before the Diet of Worms in 1521 and his immortal words: "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise. God help me! Amen!" Carlyle says: "It was the greatest moment in the modern history of men. English Puritanism, England and its parliaments, America's vast work these two centuries; French Revolution, Europe and its work everywhere at present: the germ of it all lay there; had Luther in that moment done otherwise, it had all *been* otherwise!"

Luther's Prayer. — The wrestling prayers of Luther breathe the very spirit of faith, as in this one offered just before he went into the presence of this famous Diet: "Almighty, everlasting God, how terrible this world is! How it would open its jaws to devour me! And how weak is my trust in thee! O thou my God, help me against all the wisdom of this world! Do thou the work; it is thine, not mine. I have nothing to bring me here, I have no controversy to maintain—not I—with the great ones of the earth. I, too, would fain that my days should glide along, happy and calm. But the cause is thine. It is righteous; it is eternal. O Lord, help me! Thou that art faithful, thou that art unchangeable! It is not in any man I trust. O God, my God, dost thou not hear me? Art thou dead? No, thou art hiding thyself. O Lord, my God, where art thou? Come, come! Thou hast chosen me for this work. I know it. O, then, arise and work! Be thou on my side, for the sake of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, who is my defense, my shield, and my fortress. I am ready—ready to forsake life for thy truth—patient as a lamb. Though the world should be full of demons; though my body should be stretched on the rack, cut into pieces, consumed to ashes, the soul is thine. For this I have the assurance of thy Word. Amen. O God, help thou me! Amen." (And then, as if in soliloquy) "Amen, Amen—that means, Yes, Yes, this shall be done!"

21. THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. (A.D. 1509-1603.)

To England belongs the honor of having discovered the need of a universal religious regeneration in Europe. The beginnings of reform centered in Wiclif, a student and afterwards a professor in Oxford. His first position of hostility to the prevailing doctrines was his denunciation of the mendicant monks, who went up and down the land, extorting money from the people, and preaching against learning and progress in every form. He became master of Canterbury Hall, the Christ College of a later day. The pope issued a bill in 1370 to eject Wiclif, who replied in a ringing tract. Edward III., the king, took up the cause of Wiclif, who was appointed a royal chaplain and rector of Lutterworth. Wiclif gained a clearer view of the corruptions of the Church and preached boldly against them. Twice he was tried and escaped, yet not without being forbidden to preach and write. But he continued to hurl anathemas against willful pope and deluded priests. He died a natural death at Lutterworth.



John Wiclif.

Wiclif's greatest service to the Reformation was his translation of the Bible into English.

While the people were fully ready for religious revolt, the first organized rupture with Rome came from the king, Henry VIII. Many learned Protestants from the Continent settled in Oxford and Cambridge, and conducted discussions in favor of the Reformation. Among them were Ochino, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, and Tremellius. But greatest of all the men from abroad was Erasmus, whose Greek New Testament found a ready entrance into England.

Henry's grievance against Rome was purely personal. He resolved on a divorce from Catharine of Aragon and to marry Anne Boleyn. To this the pope refused his consent. This brought the question to a crisis, and Henry broke the ties which had hitherto bound him to the papacy.

John Colet (1466-1519) and Sir Thomas More (1480-1535) were of great influence in bringing about the revolution in the popular mind. Thos. Cranmer, despite his time-serving pliancy, was of all men of his time the most powerful in hastening the English reform, and the publication of the Bible in the language of the people was the most powerful single agency in the spreading the leaven through the nation.

The young Edward, who succeeded Henry, was a Protestant, but he died early, and was succeeded by Mary, a rigid Roman Catholic. Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley were thrown into the Tower. Cranmer, in a moment of weakness, signed a recantation, but soon withdrew it. He, with Latimer and Ridley, was burned at the stake in 1556. A low estimate of the number of persons burned, places the

martyrdoms at two hundred. The number would have been much greater had not many leading Reformers fled to the Continent.

Elizabeth succeeded Mary in 1558. She at once recognized Protestantism as the national faith, and Protestants were placed in charge of all the churches. Among the exiles who now returned were the Puritans who looked upon the elaborate ceremonial, the episcopacy, the use of robes, and the mild observance of the Sabbath as wretched remnants of the evil times. They refused to observe the new order and would establish one of their own in harmony with the example of the Genevan Church. (1) Elizabeth took strong ground against the Puritans; but despite all its divisions English Protestantism became strong and permanent under Elizabeth.

Robert Brown, born about 1550, was a student at Cambridge. While there he adopted and advocated Puritan views. His followers were alike firm in their hostility to the Chrrch of England and the Church of Rome. They also opposed the synodal and presbyterial government of the Presbyterians and were for that reason called separatists or Independents. The Brownists were persecuted by ecclesiastical courts. Unable to circulate their writings or hold public services, they fled from England and organized a church in Amsterdam, and afterwards in Leyden. In the latter place John Robinson was their pastor. They resolved on leaving Holland and set sail for the New World. They landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, and became the chief factor in the civil and religious development of the colonies and the United States.

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21. THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

(1) **Churchman and Puritan.**—As we look back to the beginnings of the Puritan controversy in the reign of Edward and at the accession of Elizabeth, it seems plain that the questions were those on which good and wise men among the Protestants might differ. Half of the nation was Catholic. The clergy were of such a character that out of ten thousand not more than a few hundred chose to leave their places rather than conform to the Protestant system of Edward. A great part of them were extremely ignorant, and an equal number preferred the Roman Catholic system to any other. How can the people ever be won from popery, the Puritans demanded, if no very perceptible change is made in the modes of worship and in the apparel of the ministry? If the distinctive emblems and badges of popery are left, how shall the people be brought out of that system, and be led to give up the whole theory of priestly mediation? But the state of things that moved one party to adopt this conclusion, had an opposite effect upon the judgment of their opponents. Protestantism may fail altogether, they argued, if it breaks too abruptly with the traditional customs to which a great part of the nation are attached. Better to retain whatever is anywise compatible with the essentials of Protestantism, and wean the people from their old superstitions by a gentler process. Hold on to the apparel and the ceremonies, but carefully instruct the people as to their real significance. Thus the true doctrine will be saved; and, moreover, the religious life of the nation will preserve, in a degree, its continuity and connection with the past. The tract of Lord Bacon on the "Pacification of the Church," which was written in the reign of the successor of Elizabeth, is a calm and moderate review of the Puritan controversy, in which both parties come in for about an equal share of censure. He complains of the Puritans, among other things, for insisting that there is one prescribed form of discipline for all churches and for all time. He asserts that there are "the general rules of government: but for rites and ceremonies, and for the particular hierarchies, policies, and disciplines of churches, they be left at large." He complains of "the partial affectation and imitation," by the Puritans, "of the foreign churches." But in respect to many of the evils against which the Puritans protested, such as non-residence, pluralities, and the ignorance of the clergy, he is in sympathy with them. He thinks that liberty should have been granted in various things which were allowed by the ruling party to be indifferent. He would give up the required use of the ring in marriage; would give liberty in respect to the surplice; and he would not exact subscriptions for rites and ceremonies, as for articles of doctrine. At the time when Bacon wrote, the opponents of the Puritans were beginning to look with favor on a theory which had not been held by them before that the episcopal polity is necessary to the existence of a church. Thus the Episcopalians, as well as the Presbyterians, contended alike for the exclusive lawfulness of their respective systems.

The controversy of Churchman and Puritan is not extinct; but, however opinions may differ in regard to the English Reformation and the merits of the principal actors in it, every one at the present day must rejoice that no tempest of iconoclasm ever swept over England. Whoever looks on those

> —"Swelling hills and spacious plains,
> Besprent from shore to shore with steeple-towers,"

can partake of a brilliant French writer's admiration for "that practical good sense which has effected revolutions without committing ravages; which, while reforming in all directions, has destroyed nothing; which has preserved both its trees and its constitution, which has lopped off the dead branches without leveling the trunk; which alone, in our days, among all nations, is in the enjoyment not only of the present but the past."—*Fisher, "The Reformation," pp. 348-351.*

22. RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION.

The good fruits of the Reformation are many and widespread. (1) Hitherto but little liberty had been granted to the common people. All the political convulsions brought small return to them. The effect of the Reformation was to create in the people a thirst for liberty and for a higher and purer citizenship.

Wherever the Reformation extended it made the masses more self-asserting. Social respect and order were introduced and subjected to firm regulation. Nations were taught a higher regard for each other's rights, and kings learned that their subjects were no longer mere playthings or serfs. In some countries the aspiration for independence took organized shape. The Reformation became the mother of republics.

The Dutch Republic was born of the efforts of the Protestants of the Netherlands to secure liberty of conscience. No thought of civil independence animated the Dutch at the outset. They fought simply for liberty of doctrine and worship. But once in the current they were carried on. They builded more wisely than they knew, and so founded a nation whose commerce covered every sea, whose discoveries reached the antipodes, and whose universities became the pride and wonder of Europe.

Fac-simile of Text of Wiclif's Bible.

The American Union owes a large measure of its genesis to the European struggle for reform. The Germans who came with Penn to this country were strongly attached to the doctrines of Luther, and immediately began to build churches and establish schools in that interest. The Dutch who settled in New York and the adjacent country brought with them a fervent love of Protestantism, which had been the creative force of their nation at home, and which their fathers had bought at the price of their treasure and blood. The Swedes of New Jersey and Delaware were animated by the same ardent spirit which had burned in their hearts in their ancestral home. The Huguenots, who settled in many places along the coast from Massachusetts down to Georgia, found that safe asylum which was denied them at home because of their fidelity to conscience. The Pilgrims, who came over in the Mayflower and became the strongest nucleus in the development of our Northern colonies, were fugitives from oppression in their native England. All these elements, the finest wheat from the trampled harvest-fields of Europe, combined on these shores and became a unit in this Western planting of evangelical Christianity.

The promotion of learning was not the least benefit conferred upon the world by the Reformation. Cultured men were its first advocates. The universities were the cradles of Protestantism. The translation of the Scriptures had the effect to formulate and solidify the languages as no other literary movement had been able to do it. Wiclif's Bible preserved the Saxon tongue, and our Authorized Version, or King James' Bible, shows its constant dependence upon his translation. Luther found German a mere conglomeration of rude and coarse dialects. In his translation of the Bible he grouped the best and purest idioms and for the first time made the German language a unit.

Universities took on new life and were multiplied as an immediate fruit of the Reformation. The University of Leyden was the first creation of the new nation

which was born after the siege of that city was raised and the Spanish troops left the land. During the centuries since the Reformation more than twenty universities, three-fourths of which are Protestant, have been founded in Germany alone. Holland has built up in addition to the Univesity of Leyden five other universities, all of which are the direct results of her Protestantism. Not until now, and only as a fruit of the Reformation, was the gospel generally preached in the popular language. When the Reformation was once in progress the printing press was free. The study of all the languages became a new fascination which no edict could destroy. Public schools, though crude at first, were introduced in Germany, directly through Luther's labors. The intermediate schools, between the primary and highest education, were soon established. The German gymnasium of our times owes its real originto the period of the Reformation. Wherever the Reformation triumphed and became a permanent force, the cause of education, good morals, and political liberty advanced securely and rapidly.

Zwingli, cofounder with Calvin of the Reformed Church.

Hugh Latimer, burned at Oxford, 1555.

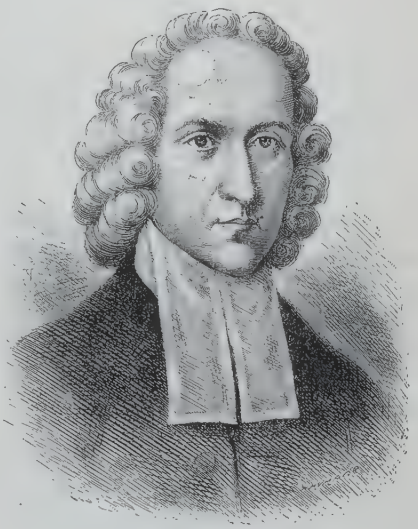
22. RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION.

(1) **Fruits of the Reformation.**—What this impression is, may be stated in the language of two modern English historians, who at least are warped by no partisan attachment to the dogmatic system of the Protestant churches. Macaulay, while conceding that the Church of Rome conferred great benefits on society in the Middle Ages, by instructing the ignorant, by curbing the passions of tyrannical civil rulers, and by affording protection to their subjects, places in strong contrast the influence of the Church of Rome during the last three centuries, when she has been struggling to perpetuate a sway which the developed intelligence of mankind had outgrown. "The loveliest and most fertile provinces of Europe have, under her rule, been sunk in poverty, in political servitude, and in intellectual torpor, while Protestant countries, once proverbial for sterility and barbarism, have been turned by skill and industry into gardens, and can boast of a long list of heroes and statesmen, philosophers and poets. Whoever, knowing what Italy and Scotland naturally are, and what, four hundred years ago, they actually were, shall now compare the country round Rome with the country round Edinburgh, will be able to form some judgment as to the tendency of Papal domination. The descent of Spain, once the first among monarchies, to the lowest depths of degradation; the elevation of Holland, in spite of many natural disadvantages, to a position such as no commonwealth so small has ever reached, teach the same lesson. Whoever passes in Germany from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant principality, in Switzerland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant canton, in Ireland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant county, finds that he has passed from a lower to a higher grade of civilization. On the other side of the Atlantic the same law prevails. The Protestants of the United States have left far behind them the Roman Catholics of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. The Roman Catholics of Lower Canada remain inert, while the whole continent round them is in a ferment with Protestant activity and enterprise. The French have doubtless shown an energy and an intelligence which, even when misdirected, have justly entitled them to be called a great people. But this apparent exception, when examined, will be found to confirm the rule; for in no country that is called Roman Catholic has the Roman Catholic Church during several generations, possessed so little authority as in France." Carlyle, in his quaint and vivid manner, thus writes of the peoples who threw off their allegiance to Rome, in contrast with those which rejected the Reformation: . . . "Austria was once full of Protestants, but the hide-bound Flemish-Spanish Kaiser-element presiding over it, obstinately for two centuries, kept saying, 'No; we, with our dull, obstinate, Cimburgis under-lip, and lazy eyes, with our ponderous Austrian depth of Habituality, and indolence of Intellect, we prefer steady darkness to uncertain new Light!' and all men may see where Austria now is. Spain still more; poor Spain going about at this time, making its 'pronunciamentos.'" "Italy too had its Protestants; but Italy killed them—managed to extinguish Protestantism. Italy put up with practical lies of all kinds, and, shrugging its shoulders, preferred going into Dilettantism and the Fine Arts. The Italians, instead of the sacred service of Fact and Performance, did Music, Painting, and the like, till even that has become impossible for them; and no noble nation, sunk from virtue to *virtù*, ever offered such a spectacle before." "But sharpest-cut example is France, to which we constantly return for illustration. France, with its keen intellect, saw the truth, and saw the falsity, in those Protestant times, and, with its ardor of generous impulse, was prone enough to adopt the former. France was within a hair's-breadth of becoming actually Protestant; but France saw good to massacre Protestantism, and end it in the night of St. Bartholomew, 1572." "The Genius of Fact and Veracity accordingly withdrew, was staved off, got kept away for two hundred years. But the Writ of Summons had been served; Heaven's messenger could not stay away forever; no, he returned duly, with accounts run up, on compound interest, to the actual hour, in 1792; and then, at last, there had to be a 'Protestantism,' and we know of what kind that was."—*Fisher*, "*The Reformation*," *pp. 510-513.*

23. THE AMERICAN CHURCH--COLONIAL PERIOD (1492-1783).

Europe in the sixteenth century was in convulsion. The reformatory movements reacted on the political life of all the central nations. Every land was divided into factions. One class, receiving its inspiration from Rome, wished to continue the old order, with the pope as practical sovereign. Another class, craving liberty and an accommodation to the new order, was willing to break loose from the Roman see, but desired to retain many of the Roman usages. A third class saw nothing but antichrist in Rome, and found hope only in casting off every reminder of papal doctrine and custom.

The transfer of the conflicts of Europe to America marked the new era. Whenever a colony came to America, it no sooner settled in its new habitat than it revived, under broader conditions, the struggle in which it had been engaged in the mother country. The Cavalier of the Virginia Colony surrendered none of his old attachment to the Church of England. The Plymouth Pilgrim (1) was even more intense in his revolt against both Romanism and Protestant Episcopacy than he had been when a Brownist at Scrooby, a parishioner of Robinson at Leyden, or a Pilgrim on the Mayflower. In the New World were fought out by contestants fewer in number and more widely scattered the issues which had driven the colonists to the Western wilds.



Jonathan Edwards.

The religious motive was supreme in the mind of all the best colonists. (2) To enjoy the free exercise of conscience was the Pilgrim's one passion, whose bright flame no distance from native land, nor stormy seas, nor rigor of climate, nor danger of death by savage hands, could quench. Our first settlers came as Christians, lived as Christians, and planted the religious principle as the richest inheritance for their posterity. They brought the best aspirations of the Old World and determined to realize them in the New. (3) The hour of American colonization was the fittest one in all modern times for the New World to receive the best which the Old had to give.

The territorial distribution of the colonists was not less providential. The acquisitions of the Spanish knights and Jesuit fathers who accompanied them were confined to a doubtful settlement in Florida, to the great province of New Spain (Mexico), and to a strip of the Pacific coast. The French Roman Catholic explorers and the Jesuit fathers were limited to Indian evangelization and an uncertain territory along the St. Lawrence, the northern chain of lakes, and the Mississippi valley. The great field of English colonization lay between these two. It is the temperate belt of North America—the region which nature had fitted for the most aggressive mission in Western civilization.

Spain now holds no foot of land on the North American continent. Louisiana passed from her hands into French possession, and in 1803 the French sold it to the United States. The French bade fair to own all Canada. The ownership was at last reduced to the fortunes of one battle—that of Quebec. The pivotal hour of all American Church history was that in which the brave Montcalm met his fate at the hands of the victorious but dying Wolfe, on the plains of Abraham, September 13, 1759.

This culmination of a long and bitter series of wars between France and Eng-

land made the English the possessors of that immense tract lying between the United States and the polar seas and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The war with Mexico, closing in 1848, gave the United States the great State of Texas, with its vast area of two hundred and seventy-five thousand square miles.

The fourth decade of the eighteenth century was marked by the "Great Awakening" which began under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton, (4) and swept through all the colonies. A general spiritual decline marked the religious life of the Colonial Church from about 1765 until the end of the century. The absorbing topic was the struggle for national independence. All spiritual interests languished. At no time in the history of the American Church was the condition so serious. It was a question, How would Christian people act with the boon of a nation in their hands? Until the beginning of the nineteenth century it was doubtful whether the national independence would prove a spiritual blessing or a curse.

23. THE AMERICAN CHURCH—COLONIAL PERIOD 1492-1783.

(1) **The Plymouth Pilgrim.**—Had New England been colonized immediately on the discovery of the American continent, the old English institutions would have been planted under the powerful influence of the Roman Catholic religion; had the settlement been made under Elizabeth, it would have been before activity of the popular mind in religion had conducted to a corresponding activity of mind in politics. The Pilgrims were Englishmen, Protestants, exiles for religion, men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunities of extensive observation, equal in rank as in rights, and bound by no code, but that of religion or the public will.—*G. Bancroft*, "*History of United States*" (*Bost., 1856*), *Vol. I, p. 308.*

(2) **The Plymouth Colony.**—The Plymouth Colony was exceptional in its character. To a large extent, the later and wealthier Massachusetts Colony was animated by sovereign religious considerations; and so were those of Rhode Island and Connecticut. But they are certainly right who affirm that even these men, or many of them, showed a tough and persistent secular enterprise combining with their religious zeal. It was indeed an indispensable element to the soundness of their character. It kept them from wide fanatical excesses. It made them hardy, sagacious, indefatigable, inflexible in their hold on the fields and the freedoms which they had won.

As compared with our more recent pioneers, who have peopled the territories, subdued the mountains, and opened toward Asia the Golden Gate, the religious element was certainly more prominent in those who earliest came to this country. But even they were far from being blind to material advantages, and far enough from being willing to live as idle enthusiasts. "Give me neither poverty nor riches," was their constant prayer; with an emphasis upon "poverty." They meant to worship God according to their consciences; and woe be to him who should forbid! But they meant, also, to get what of comfort and enjoyment they could, and of physical possession, from the world in which they worshiped; and they felt themselves co-workers with God, when the orchard was planted, and the wild vine tamed; when the English fruits had been domesticated, under the shadow of savage forests, and the maize lifted its shining ranks upon the fields that had been barren; when the wheat and rye were rooted in the valleys, and the grass was made to grow upon the mountains.—*Storrs, R. S.*, "*The Early American Spirit*," *p. 22.*

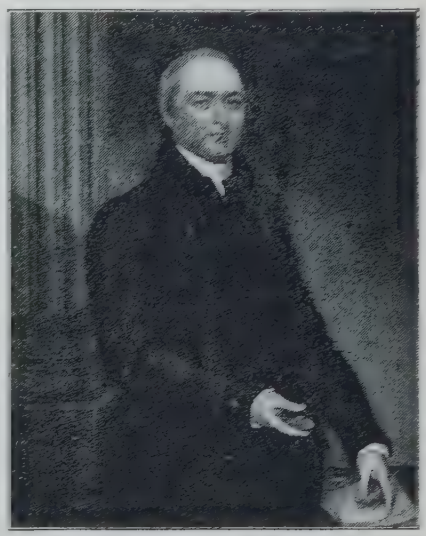
(3) **Greatness of the Pilgrims.**—No fleets of galleons brought them over. They came in coarse clothing, not in raiment of velvet, or gilded armor. They attracted little attention at the time. They only seemed to themselves to be doing a work which somehow had fallen to their lot, and which must be done; and that the century which they represented would be more illustrious by reason of their action, was certainly a thought which never occurred to them. But they shared its life, if not its renown: they brought its vigor, if not its wealth. Their small stockades, at Jamestown and Plymouth, at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange, were the points on our coast where that energetic and sovereign century, then passing over Europe, set up its banners.—*Ibid, p. 37.*

(4) **The Great Awakening.**—The crucial test of the divineness of the work was given when the people presented themselves before the Lord with a solemn act of thanksgiving for his great goodness and his gracious presence in the town of Northampton, with publicly recorded vows to renounce their evil ways and put away their abominations from before his eyes. They solemnly promise thenceforth, in all dealings with their neighbor, to be governed by the rules of honesty, justice, and uprightness; not to overreach or defraud him, nor anywise to injure him, whether willfully or through want of care; to regard not only their own interest, but his; particularly, to be faithful in the payment of just debts; in the case of past wrongs against any, never to rest till they have made full reparation; to refrain from evil speaking, and from everything that feeds a spirit of bitterness; to do nothing in a spirit of revenge; nor to be led by private or partisan interest into any course hurtful to the interests of Christ's kingdom; particularly, in public affairs, not to allow ambition or partizanship to lead them counter to the interest of true religion. Those who are young promise to allow themselves in no diversions that would hinder a devout spirit, and to avoid everything that tends to lasciviousness, and which will not be approved by the infinitely pure and holy eye of God. Finally, they consecrate themselves watchfully to perform the relative duties of parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, masters, mistresses, and servants.—*Bacon, Leonard*, "*A History of American Christianity*," *pp. 158-159.*

24. THE AMERICAN CHURCH--NATIONAL PERIOD. 1783-1898.

The Church had been a part of the colonial system. The citizen had been taxed for the support of the Church. When the Revolution severed the civil bonds with England, a strong tendency at once set in towards the separation of the Church from all political government. The people began to insist on placing the support of the Church, in all its departments, upon the voluntary judgment of its adherents. This assertion of the voluntary principle in ecclesiastical support and government was one of the most original of all the great phenomena of this initial stage of our national life.

Virginia was the scene of the first great movement to carry into practical effect the voluntary principle. To the Baptists belongs the honor of being the herald. Thomas Jefferson, who in religious matters was to all intents and purposes a Frenchman, has the honor of being one of the earliest and most consistent advocates of religious freedom.



Timothy Dwight.

The close connection of the colonies with France during the Revolutionary War favored the importation of the infidelity then rampant in that country. (1) The churches were demoralized and could offer no sufficient opposition. The new infidelity spread like wildfire. Edition after edition of the infidel publications of the Old World were sold in America. French thought became fashionable. Many public men were smitten by the contagion.

The young men of the colleges were peculiarly susceptible to the baleful influence of the rising star of unbelief. The man who did more than any other, perhaps, to stay this tide and bring the people back to saner thoughts was Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College from 1795 to his death, in 1817. From the day that the young president faced his students, infidelity has been a vanishing force in the history of the American people. This overthrow was mightily helped by the great revival which visited the country at that critical time.

This revival of 1797-1803 had several important centers of operation. The movement began almost simultaneously in widely separated regions and spread until the intervening spaces were covered by its effects.

The colleges shared largely in its benefits. The reclaiming of the colleges from infidelity to Christianity had an immense significance. Never since has religion been at so low an ebb in these centers of intellectual life; and from these college revivals have come some of the most earnest and successful Christian workers the Church has ever known.

This revival also imparted a great impulse towards evangelization, especially in the West, where the results are still appearing to the present time. (2) Other advantages to the Church grew out of that wonderful work of grace. The remnants of the Half-way Covenant were swept away. Missions among the neglected at home, the Indians and negroes, were revived and organized anew. The founding of Sunday-school unions, Bible and Tract societies, and other benevolent institutions, sprang out of the warm inspiration of this great spiritual ingathering.

The Roman Catholic preoccupation of the West and South gave abundant promise of a permanent population of adherents to that communion. From the

headwaters of the Mississippi down to the Gulf, and along the tributary rivers, there had been settlements of the Jesuits, which preserved the Roman Catholic spirit after the most of the missions had been broken up. The population was in large part French, with a Spanish admixture, and the Roman Catholic faith predominated everywhere.

The Protestant current westward did not take the shape of a religious movement. It was simply the expansion of the solid and permanent population east of the Alleghenies. The great religious currents moved along the parallels of latitude westward with a steadiness and persistency which belong to the rarer spiritual phenomena of modern times.

The moral significance of the Western and Southwestern occupation by the Protestants of the United States is vast. We are too near the scene, and the time is too recent, to comprehend the grandeur of the achievement. Centuries must elapse before the transformation can be seen in all its meaning and proportions. Our religious literature, the pulpit, our denominational treasuries, have all been enriched beyond calculation by the contributions which the West has made with liberal hand and sublime faith.

24. THE AMERICAN CHURCH.—NATIONAL PERIOD.

(1) **The Westward Movement.** — The two decades from the close of the War of Independence include the period of the lowest ebb-tide of vitality in the history of American Christianity. The spirit of half-belief or unbelief that prevailed on the other side of the sea, both in the church and out of it, was manifest also here. Happily the tide of foreign immigration at this time was stayed, and the church had opportunity to gather strength for the immense task that was presently to be devolved upon it. But the westward movement of our own population was now beginning to pour down the western slope of the Alleghanies into the great Mississippi basin. It was observed by the Methodist preachers that the members of their societies who had, through fear, necessity, or choice, moved into the back settlements and into new parts of the country, as soon as peace was settled and the way was open, solicited the preachers to come among them, and so the work followed them to the west. In the years 1791–1810 occurred the great movement of population from Virginia to Kentucky and from Carolina to Tennessee. It was reckoned that one fourth of the Baptists of Virginia had removed to Kentucky, and yet they hardly leavened the lump of early frontier barbarism. The Presbyterian Church, working in its favorite methods, devised campaigns of home missionary enterprise in its presbyteries and synods, detailing pastors from their parishes for temporary mission service in following the movement of the Scotch-Irish migration into the hill-country in which it seemed to find its congenial habitat, and from which its powerful influences were to flow in all directions. The Congregationalists of New England in like manner followed with Christian teaching and pastoral care their sons moving westward to occupy the rich lands of western New York and of Ohio. The General Association of the pastors of Connecticut, solicitous that the work of missions to the frontier should be carried forward without loss of power through division of forces, entered, in 1801, into the compact with the General Assembly of the Presbyterians known as the "Plan of Union," by which Christians of both polities might coöperate in the founding of churches and in maintaining the work of the gospel.

In the year 1803 the most important political event since the adoption of the Constitution, the purchase of Louisiana by President Jefferson, opened to the American church a new and immense field for missionary activity. This vast territory, stretching from the Mississippi westward to the summits of the Rocky Mountains and nearly doubling the domain of the United States, was the last remainder of the great projected French Catholic empire that had fallen in 1763. Passed back and forth with the vicissitudes of European politics between French and Spanish masters, it had made small progress in either civilization or Christianity. But the immense possibilities of it to the kingdoms of this world and to the kingdom of heaven were obvious to every intelligent mind. —*Bacon*, "*A History of American Christianity*," *pp. 219-221.*

(2) **Value of the Revivals.**—The widespread revivals of the first decade of the nineteenth century saved the church of Christ in America from its low estate and girded it for stupendous tasks that were about to be devolved on it. In the glow of this renewed fervor, the churches of New England successfully made the difficult transition from establishment to self-support and to the costly enterprises of aggressive evangelization into which, in company with other churches to the South and West, they were about to enter. The Christianity of the country was prepared and equipped to attend with equal pace the prodigious rush of population across the breadth of the Great Valley, and to give welcome to the invading host of immigrants which before the end of a half-century was to effect its entrance into our territory at the rate of a thousand a day. It was to accommodate itself to changing social conditions, as the once agricultural population began to concentrate itself in factory villages and commercial towns. It was to carry on systematic campaigns of warfare against instituted social wrong, such as the drinking usages of society, the savage code of dueling, the public sanction of slavery. And it was to enter the "effectual door" which from the beginning of the century opened wider and wider to admit the gospel and the church to every nation under heaven.—*Bacon, Ibid, p. 244-45.*

FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **MEDIÆVAL MISSIONS IN EUROPE.**—Missions, Anskar, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Bulgaria, Moravia, Russia, Poland, Hungary.
20. **THE REFORMATION. MARTIN LUTHER.**—Saxons and Latins, Turning point, Licentiousness, Venality, Ignorance, Purification, Secession, Luther.
21. **THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.**—Wycliffe; The Bible, Henry VIII., Martyrdoms, Puritans, Pilgrims to America.
22. **RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION.**—Mother of republics, The Germans, Dutch, Swedes, Huguenots, and Pilgrims in America, Influence on literature, education and preaching.
23. **THE AMERICAN CHURCH — COLONIAL PERIOD.**—Transfer of European conflicts to America, The religious motive, Territorial distribution, Political changes, The great awakening.
24. **THE AMERICAN CHURCH — NATIONAL PERIOD.**—Voluntarism, French infidelity, Timothy Dwight, Revival, Missions, The Westward movement.

Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop, Cardinal, and Prime Minister for Henry V., of England.

QUESTIONS.

19. *How were the remoter parts of Europe evangelized? Sketch the life of Anskar. How did Methodius work? How late were the Wends converted?*

20. *What was the racial basis of the Reformation? Name some contributors to the Reformation. What importance for history had the Reformation? What need for it was there? What part did Luther play in it?*

21. *Describe the work of Wyclif. What was his greatest service? How did Erasmus contribute to the Reformation? What part did Henry VIII. play? How did Cranmer influence reform? What three bishops were burned? How many Protestants in all were burned? What did the Puritans desire? How did Elizabeth regard them? Who were the Brownists? Whither did they emigrate?*

John Calvin, Protestant Reformer, 1509-1564.

22. *What influence upon politics had the Reformation? Sketch the rise of the Dutch Republic? What part did religion play in the colonization of America? How were language and education influenced? How was the gospel now preached? How was the press affected?*

23. *What conflicts marked religious life in America? What was the supreme motive in colonization? What other motive must be recognized? Describe the territorial distribution of Spaniards, French and English. What influence upon subsequent history did this distribution exercise? Describe the revival and subsequent decline of the eighteenth century. How did its moral effects appear in Northampton?*

24. *Relate the rise of voluntarism. What State, what denomination, and what person inaugurated the movement? Whence did infidelity spring? How pervasive did it become? Who led the reaction from it? How were the colleges influenced? Name some results of the revival. Discuss the Westward movement. How did the Churches act?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Mediæval Missions and their lessons for Modern Missions.*
2. *The fate of the Latin peoples since the Reformation.*
3. *Influence of the Bible in the vernacular.*
4. *The relation of Protestantism to education.*
5. *The rhythm of religious life.*
6. *The present condition of America.*

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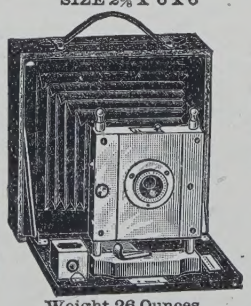

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PRELIMINARY COURSE: For one month prior to the regular opening of the College, a preliminary course will be held. This course is recommended to all who expect to attend the regular session; especially those who have had no regular experience in dentistry will find this course greatly to their advantage. A fee of $20.00 will be charged for this course, which will be deducted from the regular college fees for the ensuing year. Those who cannot take the entire preliminary course should come in as early as possible.

REGULAR SESSION will commence September 28th and continue until April 5th, which will be immediately followed by a

PRACTITIONERS' COURSE, which will continue for 12 weeks (or till June 19th). A Practitioners' Course is also given during the month of September.

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